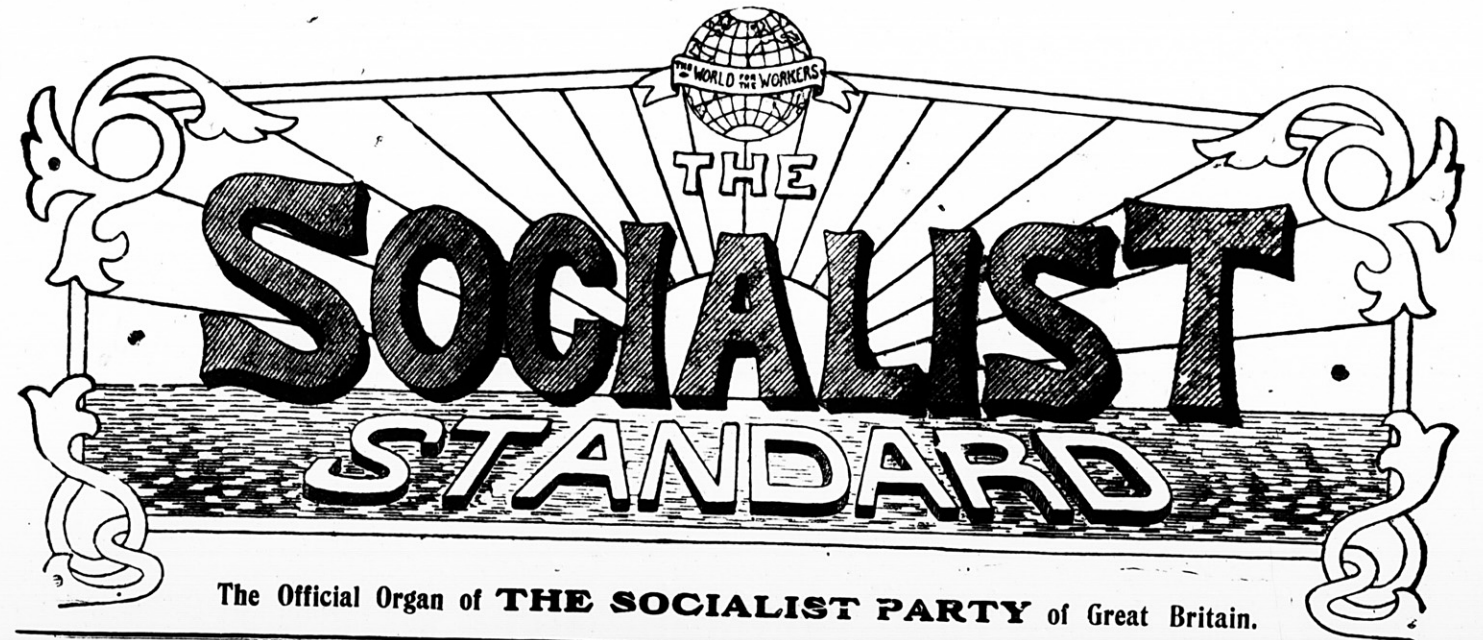


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A QUERY FOR THE GIRLS.

SUFFRAGISM OR SOCIALISM?

One of the prominent boasts of the ruling class of Great Britain during the present conflict has been the "unity of all parties in the national cause." From the extreme Tory to the leaders of the B.S.P., all are out to "crush Prussian militarism!" all except the Socialist Party.

Engineers on the bonnie banks o' Clyde, miners in Wales, and others have, indeed, acted in anything but a "patriotic" manner; but they, like the Socialist Party, belong to the working class, and unfortunately, unlike the Socialist Party, not being politically organised, they don't count in the estimation of the hiring journalists whose business it is to give expression to the above-mentioned boasts.

The treachery of the Labour Party (and other falsely so-called working-class bodies) to international democracy has already been exposed in these columns; but what strikes the present writer as equally significant is the farcical change of face of the so-called Woman's Movement, as represented by the erstwhile "revolutionary" window smashers, the "militant" Suffragettes.

Male tyranny apparently has evaporated into thin air in face of the fact that nearly every male in Europe who can be possibly cajoled or forced into shouldering that expression of sweet reasonableness, a rifle, is doing so. Possibly dear ladies like Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and other fashionable "recruiting sergeants," imagine that when the male sex has by mutual effort annihilated itself, the fair ones will have the world in peace to themselves. If so I can only wish them joy. In any case the fiery purge of an unprecedented crisis has left them sorted out among the dross—the stuff that supports organised mechanical murder.

Innocent readers might ask "why?" Did they not assure us that war, like all other social evils, was the outcome of ~~base~~ line brutality, destined to disappear when gentle woman shared the hold of the political reins? Alas for idealism! It is for ever playing the will-o'-the-wisp, landing its dupes deeper into the bog of confusion; it is ever an alluring mirage—but it never fails to reveal at last the bleached bones of previously misled travellers. A scientific analysis of the "militant" position, years before the war, was sufficient to indicate to the S.P.G.B. that when the time came the "rebels" (with votes or without) would "cease fire" against the Government in order to take their stand alongside of all other upholders of the private property regime.

Class, Not Breeches, is the Question. He (or she) that is not with us is against us, and the mere fact that the Suffragettes, with all their talk of equality, left unchallenged the basis of class distinctions,

proved that with them the capitalist control of society and the exploitation of the workers was sacrosanct, mansion burning notwithstanding.

Consequently, when the German bogey finally materialised, threatening with much rattling of loose iron to upset the balance of power, including Britain's rule over the waves and other things of commercial importance, it was but the natural thing that political rights of sex should be deemed less urgent than the preservation of property; for what are the former worth except as instruments wherewith to acquire or defend the latter.

By this same token the Suffragettes are branded as the enemies of the working class, who have no property or trade to defend against German aggression, and who consequently can afford to declare no truce in the struggle with their masters, either on the political or on the economic field. This brings us to another point in our indictment.

Not content with the merely passive abandonment of "militancy," the "feminist" leaders have openly and actively supported the substitution of cheap female labour for men's in "war work" and essential industries, etc. Of old, "equal pay for equal work" was the slogan; but so direly in earnest are the master class engaged in a life and death struggle for plunder, that work at any price for women, so long as it frees a man for the carnage, is the present "emancipated" philosophy.

Throwing Themselves at the Masters. What matters it that this process involves a reduction in the number of working-

men who are able to maintain wives outside the labour market, the increase of competition among women themselves, the lowering of wages all round, and the increase of prostitution? Aye! what, when the glorious ideals of British honour and freedom are at stake? This appears to be the attitude of the "advanced" to the additional working-class misery caused by the war.

In view of the above facts are we not justified in asking such of our sister-workers as have followed the lead of the suffrage party to reconsider their position, and give a little deeper study to their conditions of existence as working women? Hitherto they have confined their attack to certain distinctions between the sexes in the social and political sphere. Let us see how much practical significance these distinctions possess.

In the first place, it has already been observed that they possess very little for the wealthy feminist leaders themselves when confronted with a peril to their wealth as well as men's. So long as their power to plunder the working class is secure they will tussle with all their might against the powers that be for political rights and social recognition of the equality of

their wealth with that of men; but let danger threaten their class (whether from outside the country or within and their sex becomes of minor importance. Whether they enjoy the power to rob directly as independent property-owners, or whether they do so indirectly through their husbands or fathers is a detail. They belong to a decadent parasitic class, and can be trusted to show "practical business acumen" when the need arises. The sex equality they advocate is but the right of all capitalists, irrespective of sex, to exploit and dominate the lives of the workers, also irrespective of sex.

Turning to distinctions based on sex between the workers, it is difficult to discover any save the purely political one. In earlier forms of industry and agriculture the handicraftsman and the peasant owned the means of life not only of themselves, but of their wives and children, thus holding the latter in a chattel relationship which survived to some extent even through the early stages of capitalist manufacture. No sooner, however, did machinery, the great leveller, sound the death-knell of the old division of labour and the advent of modern industry, than domestic relations all through society commenced to undergo a revolution.

Along with the emancipation of the capitalist from the necessity of any form of personal labour proceeded the releasing of his wife from household duties, which more and more devolved upon hired servants. Likewise the divorce between ownership and work made it easier for such women to inherit property direct with all the advantages of the same. Hence their modern demand for political influence.

On the other hand, a similar equalising of the sexes took place among the workers. Deprived by machinery of the market value of his skill and muscular power, the handicraftsman was replaced by the wage-labourer, who owned no means of life but was compelled to sell himself to toil for another; his women-folk therefore became, in reality, dependent, not on him, but upon the capitalist, while his family authority as father or husband degenerated into an obligation to send his wife and children out to earn wages in order to restore, however partially, the family income to the level his former position had enabled him to maintain. Thus the male labourers are compelled to cut their own throats, so to speak, for the employment of women and children, once established, tends progressively to supplant the labour of men along with the advance of machinery. Whereas formerly the man was the bread-winner-in-chief, now the whole family offers itself for the consumption by Capital of its productive efforts.

Perfect Equality is Already Attained.

Thus modern industry has abolished economic distinctions between the sexes of the working class, not by raising woman to man's level, but, by the abolition of his property, reducing him to hers, worsening the conditions of both to an intense degree. In addition, the increased hold of the master class upon the working women is manifested sexually as well as economically in the form of modern prostitution, a corollary of female low wages; and so far from this latter being an advantage to working men due to their having a vote, it is, on the contrary, a most distinct curse, as male unemployment is sufficient to prove. In short, men and women are already equals in the working class—equals in slavery.

There remains the vote to consider, and there is at least as much confusion abroad concerning the real meaning of political action as on any other single phase of working-class existence. Many so-called philosophers have indulged in a large amount of dubious eloquence on the abstract value of its exercise.

In the first place, the mere possession of a vote does not necessarily give an individual any control of government. In voting he has the choice of certain candidates nominated by different parties, but assuming that he is not a member of any of these parties, and that his interests are not represented by any one of them, then he might as well have no vote. For although the modern politician will go a long way to secure the suffrages of his constituents, he nevertheless has his limits in the nature of the party to which he belongs. He obviously cannot represent in practice interests which are directly opposed to one another. Concrete politics therefore resolves itself into a conflict between parties, and so far as actual power goes, an individual can only count as a member of a party. A knowledge of the actual constitutions and objects of the parties in the field form the basis for an intelligent interest in politics, whether the person interested be male or female.

It is common knowledge that the working class have only been enfranchised to any extent during the last half-century. When members of the historic Liberal and Conservative parties boast of giving us the vote, it is well to ask them who they represented at that time. Broadly speaking, the line of division between them then was the division of their respective economic interests as manufacturers, etc., on the one side and landed proprietors on the other. The sharp edges of this distinction may have become rounded off, but it still remains true that the parties mentioned represent sectional interests among the capitalist class. Taken together they represent that class as a whole, and are always ready, when occasion arises, to unite in their common interest; the present coalition government being a striking example of this. Various parties claiming to represent working-class interests exist, but all save the S.P.G.B. are guilty of compromise with the parties of the masters.

Indeed, a little thought reveals the fact that any party whose programme implies the continuance of capitalism in any form is foredoomed to compromise sooner or later; for no sooner does any legislative measure become practical from a capitalist point of view than the master-class parties annex the said measure as part of their programme, thus "dishing" the "independence" of so-called reformers. Seeing the majority of the working class are unorganised politically, and vote, if at all, for representatives of parties which are either avowedly or by implication constitutional, the exercise of their "democratic privilege" is nothing more than a formal sanction given to their own enslavement. Not merely does capitalism involve their increasing exploitation, but the masters' nominees never dream of consulting them on any actual measure they desire to pass—e.g., the declaration of the present war.

How, then, does it stand with the working women? When they obtain the vote their choice will simply lie, as now, between the existing social order and revolution—the parties of the masters and the Socialist Party. On the one hand the Suffragettes have yet to show what earthly advantage working women have to gain by the further development of capitalism; on the other, it is plain that the object of the S.P.G.B., i.e., the emancipation of all mankind, irrespective of race or sex, by the conversion of the means of life into common property, will

remove all obstacles to the free development of women as of men. The S.P.G.B.—a political party—is the weapon by which emancipation will be secured; the vote of the workers will be its expression. The course of working women is therefore to join the S.P.G.B. It by no means follows that because they are at present voteless they will be useless or powerless within the Party—far from it. All members of the Party, irrespective of race, sex, or age, have equal voice in its control, equal scope in its activities. Capital exploits them all; against capital they are all organised to fight.

To the utopian party of Woman, irrespective of class, we oppose the party of the workers.

For the rest the worth of a weapon depends on the use of it. The possession of a revolver is a dubious advantage if it be turned on oneself instead of on the enemy; yet this is the nature of working-class political action at present. Is it the ambition of working women of the "advanced" school merely to imitate the men?

E. B.

STRAWS THAT SHOW.

And Genius, too!

It has been frequently stated in the columns of this journal that those who are divorced from the means of production are dependent upon those who own and control those means. The more capitalist society develops the more noticeable becomes this fact, and a host of other callings, apart from wage-labour, falls under its influence. Doctors, artists, writers, and those following other professional callings become ever more dependent upon different sections of the ruling class. Many individuals, in the anxious desire to escape the degradation and misery of wage-labour conditions, seek a livelihood by writing books. In many cases the books come under the ban of the publishers, because the contents are supposedly immoral or in other ways do not meet with the approval of those who control the reading matter of their slaves. Smarting under a sense of injustice, or in a wild endeavour to smash their way through the ring fence with which their exploiters have surrounded them, these writers occasionally resort to the law courts, but instead of getting redress for their grievances, they invariably emerge poorer, if wiser, people.

A case was recently brought into the courts by Miss Kenaley, who sued a well-known publishing firm for slander. It was contended that for years this firm had declined to accept Miss Kenaley's books, and that they had circularised the libraries, thus preventing her from obtaining her living. Needless to say, judgment was given against her, whereupon Miss Kenaley caused a sensation in Court by taking poison.

The sequel to this was heard at Bow-st. on November 30th last, when Miss Kenaley was charged with attempting to commit suicide. The prisoner made the following statement:

I wish to say it is not I who have attempted my life. It is these men who have attempted my life. He takes my life who takes the means whereby I live. For five years, your worship, these men have tried to destroy my livelihood. The moment I write a book—before I write a book—they have slanderous interviews with the circulating libraries, telling them the book is too immoral for publication, or that it contains a libel—anything. No slander is too bad in order to ruin the sale of my book. I want to live. I do not want to die. I have no alternative but to drown myself or take poison.

In modern society there are two classes, one of which own the means by which both live. In the struggle to live the workers have to manipulate the machinery to produce the wealth, which then becomes the property of the masters, who pay the workers a portion thereof—wages. Without the permission of the owners of the machinery and raw material the workers have no access to the means of living and so must starve. In the relentless struggle numbers do starve, while many commit suicide rather than face further misery. But to the Socialist it is the braver way to seek the cause of the trouble and fight it. The horrible manifestations of society can only be obliterated by organised action on the part of those who are dependent upon the owners of the means of life. The

Socialist Party is a working-class organisation which has for its object the establishment of Socialism, a system of society wherein the wealth that has been socially produced shall be socially owned and controlled. To become apathetic and indifferent to the evils of present-day society is tantamount to the acceptance of their continuity. Join up!

Thrift and the Workers.

In the previous issue of the "S.S." an article was published on the above matter, but it would not be out of place to have a little more to say upon the subject.

It is safe to assert that at this time of day no sane person will deny that those who manipulate the means of wealth production are faced with a ceaseless struggle for existence, and that those who own and control those things live in affluent and luxurious idleness. The very basis of society presupposes the aforesaid conditions, and every worker knows that the wages he receives in exchange for his labour-power is, on the average, no more than sufficient to keep him physically fit to go on producing wealth for his master. Since the advent of the present holocaust in Europe, many members of the working class have been engaged in the production of implements for the destruction of their fellow wage-slaves. By working terribly long hours these workers have been able to earn something more than their normal wages. The capitalist ministers, grasping at any opportunity to relieve their masters of the hateful process of paying for their own war, have continually called upon the workers either to put their "spare" cash in the War Loan, or to save it up for future hard times—in other words, practice the most rigid extemperation in order that part of their wages may go into their masters' banks to finance their masters' war.

But in spite of the appeals of the gutter Press the capitalist ministers lament the fact that the workers fail to practice thrift, but prefer to indulge in riotous living.

The "Daily News and Leader," anxious to serve the interests of those who own it, sent a special commissioner to Birmingham to enquire into the "prosperity" of the workers there, and the emissary reports as follows (6.12.15):

At the beginning of my enquiry I was met by an ostentatious display of wealth on the part of those who were formerly "comfortably off" and are now well-to-do, or even wealthy. All observation goes to show that the most marked extravagance is being displayed in the matter of food. The character of the goods sold in the working-class districts has completely changed during the past six months, and daintiness seems to be steadily on the increase. Women who used to be regular purchasers of sixpenny margarine now scorn anything but one-and-sixpenny butter, and oddly enough, the old patrons of butter (those unfortunate fixed income people) patronise margarine. The best bacon and the best fresh meat, retailed at very high prices, are now purchased by the Birmingham "poor."

The capitalists and their filthy Press, whenever it suits their purpose to do so, start a campaign of calumny and insult against the workers, or, if it suits them better, soft-soap them over with calculated eulogy. Quite recently, for instance, Mr. Asquith stated that without the workers the war could not go on, that the ruling class depended upon the toilers to man the Army, and to supply food and munitions. Then comes Mr. Lloyd George with his assertion that the munition workers were malingering. Not to be outdone in heaping insult on the workers the Press, besides giving great prominence to the speeches of these ministers, takes up the cudgels on the capitalists' behalf, and hurls epithets with vigour. The fact that thousands of single men did not join their masters' fighting forces was sufficient reason for ridiculing and insulting them with much bitterness. First the "slacker" was hiding behind his mother's skirt, or waiting to rob the new recruit of the job he had just left. Then the employers were urged to compel their men of military age to join up, and thousands, faced with starvation, attested.

But the blackest crime of all those committed by the class that malingers, and shirk, and drink, and slack appears to be that they presume to buy butter instead of that muck, margarine, to purchase bacon and other high-priced things that they produce but are not expected to eat. They even are alleged to be guilty of buying pianos

on the hire-purchase system, and of clothing themselves far above their station, in the cast-off habiliments of their betters.

It seems almost inconceivable that the only useful class in society, the class that does all the necessary work of the community, should ignore the challenge conveyed in their masters' talk of thrift. When Asquith was criticised over the pooling of the Cabinet plunder, he very quickly screamed out that no one should dictate to him how he should spend his salary. It is to the source of the great spending powers of men like Asquith, Lloyd George, Churchill, and so on, not to speak of the larger fry whom these men are so handsomely paid to serve, that the members of the working class should turn their attention when they are sermonized on the subject of thrift. They will commence to be thrifty directly they do so. C. F. C.

THE OLD, OLD STORY.

A trade-union conference was recently held at the Central Hall, Westminster, at which three ministers addressed the delegates with the avowed object of gaining their influence against any movement by munition workers for an increase in wages. The ministers, with their usual contempt for the representatives of the workers, delivered their speeches and took their departure. What they had said, though economically unsound, contradictory and absurd, was to be taken as gospel and transmitted to the workers. The delegates made no attempt to expose the ludicrous mistakes and wilful misrepresentations contained in the statements of the three ministers. They came to heel, and carried out the instructions of their masters—as good labour leaders have always done in the past.

Asquith figured first, and destroyed the case of his colleagues before they spoke. Four-and-a-half million workers, one-third of the total, had received an average increase of three and sixpence per week. An increase of a fraction over 5 per cent. for the whole of the working-class. He then showed that the cost of living had risen in the same period by 30 per cent. Thus proving that the working class of this country had sustained a reduction in wages of 25 per cent.

No wonder that Mr. McKenna followed with the remark: "I am not sure that I am very fond of explaining to an audience of this kind why, in the present circumstances, it is contrary to the interests of the State to put forward claims for higher wages in particular trades." The State having, without friction, achieved a 25 per cent. reduction all round could, of course, afford to pay for the overtime worked in those particular trades and even grant a substantial increase in wages—but, that would not be business, and besides, the rest of the workers might want a rise as well. We pass over the insinuating remark that the speaker dislikes the task of dissuading the workers from attempting to improve their conditions. He is no doubt fully alive to its contemptible nature. The insinuation is only one trick in the miserable game played by professional politicians and their colleagues the labour leaders.

Mr. McKenna then proceeded to argue that higher wages means higher prices. He may or may not believe in this oft-exposed fallacy. But he is confident of one thing: it is a convenient doctrine to impress upon the workers. Especially that section of the workers completely at the mercy of the masters because they are unorganised. Millions of workers, who's wages are below the average, and who are unable to distinguish the real cause of their poverty, are easily persuaded that their fellow-workers are responsible for some of it when they strike for higher wages.

"Very large wages" said Mr. McKenna, "have been earned in many cases. Now, half the trouble would never have arisen if those large wages had not been lavishly spent."

Mr. Asquith had previously demonstrated to the delegates that the workers had sustained a 25 per cent. reduction in wages. Thereby proving that their purchasing power had been reduced. But Mr. McKenna had the audacity to tell them that four-and-a-half million workers whose actual wages have only fallen by 15 per

cent. instead of 25 per cent., are responsible for half the trouble, because they spent this fictitious increase, together with their overtime money, instead of saving it. Note, too, the concern of the little brother of the very poor. "The larger demand amongst that section of the community which was enjoying higher wages and higher income sent up the price of the article and diminished, therefore, the power to purchase of their poorer neighbours."

The whole burden of Mr. McKenna's speech is summed up in his concluding sentences. "Those who demand higher wages must show themselves worthy of higher wages. They must show they can save in the interests of the State and their neighbours, their families and themselves. That is the demand you have to make, and, until you can do so, you are not justified in asking for higher wages for a special trade to the injury of all other classes of the community."

His speech was a transparent attempt to raise a popular outcry against that section of the workers who, in the present crisis, could by organised action demand and obtain a substantial—though temporary—increase in the price of their labour-power.

It was reserved for Mr. Runciman to insult the intelligence of the assembled delegates. Many labour leaders profess Socialism. Mr. Runciman, of course, knew the extent of their Socialist knowledge—nationalisation of industries and the like—so, after informing them that the Government had spent forty millions buying up sugar, he gravely informed them that it was "one of the greatest Socialistic experiments ever entered upon by any government." They also purchased wheat from India, the United States, Canada, and the Argentine in enormous quantities. "That," he said, "was Socialism again, but it was Socialism on a business basis, and I should always be prepared to do business on those terms." And the delegates, well, they quite appreciated these profound remarks because they coincided with their own limited knowledge and confused ideas of Socialism. We read, therefore, without a symptom of surprise that the conference "decided to send to the members of all trade unions copies of the speeches and commend the appeals to their earnest and favourable consideration." F. F.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF.

In the last instalment under this heading we considered in part how the conditions of our social life arise from the basis of our social structure—that is, from the private ownership by a portion of society of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth. We saw that this property condition made society a class society—a society divided into two classes, a propertied class and a propertyless class. We saw, further, that the only means the propertyless have of living is by selling their power to work to those who owned the property. Next we saw that since the people were thus divided into buyers and sellers of labour-power, there necessarily exists between them an antagonism. And finally we learned how, because the workers had not the means to produce the goods they needed for their own use (as they could when they had access to the land and owned the tools they used), and had to produce what their masters wanted, and because these masters do not want the products of their factories for their own use, but simply as a means of turning the money they invest in their production into more money, the goods produced to-day are produced for sale.

Thus we see how several features of society arise from the fact that the instruments of labour are owned and controlled by a class.

Now let us go back to the worker at the place where we left him selling his labour-power.

It was stated that the position of the worker and that of the master are quite different, and this is true. It does not mean, however, that there was no difference of position between the people of the community before society was established upon its present basis. As a matter of fact society has been established upon other private-property bases prior to the present one, and each of these have divided society into different classes, with different class relationships,

class positions, and class conditions. And it so happens that the class positions and relationships of the present time are easiest understood by comparing them with those of past systems.

Under the feudal system the serfs, and after they had emancipated themselves from serfdom the peasant proprietors, had access to the land, under certain restrictions. The land did not belong to the serf, yet he had certain well-defined rights in it. It is often said that the serf belonged to the land he was born on, and in a sense this is correct. Though he had to pay to his feudal lord certain tribute in the way of service, and was bound to the estate whereon he was born, he was not the property of his feudal superior. The key to his position was rather to be found in his relation to those of his own class than those of the class above him. He was a unit of the village community, with rights in the land of that community, and duties toward it. But naturally, he had not rights in the land of other communities, nor, where land was held in common in the community, could the opportunity to acquire such rights present itself at all frequently. Hence the serf would find himself restricted in his movements, and custom would tend to become law.

The serf, then, was in a very different position from that of the modern wage-worker. Having access to the land, he was able to produce nearly all his requirements, and therefore he was not compelled to become a wage-labourer—one, that is, dependent upon wages for his living. He did, however, occasionally work for wages, in order to provide himself with the few things which he could not himself produce. The modern wage-worker finds the position exactly reversed. He depends for his living upon wages, though he may grow himself a cabbage on an allotment, or keep a chicken in his backyard.

On the other hand, because the serf was a member of a community based upon common ownership of the land, he had his place in that community, and, with exceptions, could neither leave it nor be turned out of it. The modern wage-worker, on the contrary, living in a community wherein he owns nothing but his power to labour, which he must sell in order to live, is forced to go where he can sell it, be that even, as it often is, the farthest ends of the earth.

Again, the serf, not having to sell his energy to another, did not stand in the same relation to other men that the worker of to-day does. He did so many days work for his feudal superior; the rest of his time was his own. The wealth he produced in his own time did not pass out of his possession—it belonged to him. If he worked harder and produced more the gain was his. His increased production did not mean increased wealth for his feudal dominator, nor was the greater return of the serf from his toil obtained at the expense of his lord, hence there could not be the same struggle on the part of the exploiter to speed up the worker that we see to-day, nor the struggle for the products of labour which is revealed in these times in a multitude of strikes and lock-outs. On the other hand, since the wealth which the serf produced was consumed almost entirely in his own household, instead of being taken away from him and used to glut the market and throw the producer and his fellows out of work, the serf could not feel that the harder he worked the sooner he would be deprived of his living, or that when his neighbour sweated at his work he was "taking the bread out of his mouth."

It is seen from this how different was the outlook of the serf upon life from that of the wage-worker of the present time. The former looked out upon a world that the latter can hardly understand. The place where he was born was his home—the present-day working-man has no home in that sense. When you speak of the latter's home you mean his few sticks. Beyond those he has only an abode, belonging to somebody else, who will turn him adrift as soon as he cannot meet his rent. And the serf's whole life, and his relations with his fellow-men, were different. And just as he could not see in his neighbour a competitor snatching the bread from his mouth, so his whole ideas regarding his neighbour were different from those obtaining among the workers to-day.

Enough has been said to show how social conditions arise from social bases, and that suffice us for this month. A. E. JACOMB.

practical, we had better start out along the lines expressed in that section of the Preamble, because only along such lines is it possible to amalgamate the forces that we wish to amalgamate. (Applause.)

(Note that this statement was applauded.)

Delegate Simons said (see p. 230):

I also believe that this should be broad enough to admit the Anarchist and the Socialist and the men who do not believe in political action at all anyway.

Similar ideas were expressed by other delegates, and found like approval. From what has been produced it is quite plain that this meeting was composed of politically antagonistic units, who could not possibly hang together in the face of any proposal to lay down a political policy. We are pointing this out to forestall the quibble that the economic organisation has nothing to do with politics. These political enemies could get as far as declaring that the workers must come together on the political field. That merely committed them to politics in another place. It left the door open for politicians of every shade—even those who "practically controlled" capitalist political parties—even those nominated and endorsed by capitalist political organisations—even the "suspicious" characters, "the carefully selected tools of the capitalist class," the "traitors to the working people." Shade of De Leon! yes, it left the door open for all these, to come in and undermine and betray, for they could bring in "numbers and money."

Now then, our opponents have jibed us with having our own conception of class-consciousness. Well, what is the meaning of the term? The least that it means is, a consciousness of the class position in society. A consciousness of this position, in regard, of course, to the working class, implies a knowledge that the workers can only be emancipated by the abolition of the private ownership of property. Does the Republican party in Montana stand for the abolition of private property? Of course not. Do the nominees and protégés of capitalist parties and organisations stand for the abolition of private property? Not likely! Can such men, then, be class-conscious proletarians? Not without being traitors to the working class. Their wrong politics arise either from lack of knowledge, in which case they cannot be class-conscious, or from lack of principle, in which case they are traitors. In either case the economic organisation that knowingly permits them to shelter under its wing is unsound. Faced with the pronouncement that the amendment to bar capitalists' nominees and endorsees would keep out capitalist politicians who could bring in numbers and money, the Convention deliberately left the way open to these men.

Consider the position. If the economic organisation could "not interfere with the political aspirations or actions of our members" (Delegate Twining), then, logically, the political organisation cannot interfere with the economic aspirations and actions of its members. So the Gompers and the Haywoods—the sworn foes of the economic arena—if they profess alike politically, can stand staunchly shoulder to shoulder in the same political organisation, and valiantly shed their blood together in the political arena for the economic aspirations for which they would rend one another limb from limb in the economic field.

And now we come to a point that, in view of the fact that this discussion arose out of the wild claim of the S.L.P. that had the European movement organised the workers on the pattern of the I.W.W. the war might have been prevented, is peculiarly apposite. On p. 256 of the Report we read that the following resolution was presented:

Whereas, 1. Owing to the fact that the legislature of certain States have passed bills making it a misdemeanor for workingmen to persuade or attempt to persuade other workingmen from joining Military Organisations; and

Whereas, 2. We, as united workers, recognise that Patriotism is one of the cardinal virtues, and should be inculcated into the minds of all those having their country's interests at heart; and

Whereas, 3. It is a well-known fact that a well trained Regiment is superior to ten thousand not so trained, and military training would be absolutely indispensable to the property interests of the country in the face of a foreign invasion; and

Whereas, 4. By emulating the example of our beloved President it is possible for any among us to attain to the same exalted position; and

Whereas, 5. A contingency might even arise in which such training and membership in such an organisation might be of value to the workingman, as a workingman; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this organisation that its members affiliate at once with the different State Military Bodies, and that they also show their loyalty to the present government by persuading all brother members to do likewise.

The resolution was not passed, but that is not the point. The points are (there are more than one of them) (1) that it was presented by—two guesses; an ordinary "pure and simple craft union"—wrong, it was presented by the Industrial Workers' Club of Chicago, (2) those who could send in such a resolution were not flung out—the constitution of the I.W.W. was broad enough to take them all in, with their worship of their masters' country, their love of their masters' President, their concern for their masters' property, their loyalty to their masters' government, and their determination to defend all these with their blood—just like the "European comrades" who had become "so enmeshed in bourgeois politics that they had lost sight of the ultimate goal of Socialism." What a victory for the S.L.P. of A's Industrial Unionism propaganda.

We repeat that that economic child of the S.L.P., the I.W.W., to wit, is not a class-conscious organisation. It is as rotten as the craft unions they try to supplant—and they need but a similar test to have their members butchering their fellow-workers in the name of that "cardinal virtue," patriotism, just as their politically ignorant brethren in Europe are doing to-day.

A. E. J.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS MILITARISM.

Throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles journalists of every shade of capitalist thought have subscribed to the prevailing notion that the European war is being waged, on the one side by nations upholding the principles of democracy, and on the other side by nations whose system of government is autocracy and militarism. All the crimes committed of recent years against the workers by the allied governments, in the sacred name of capitalist order, are purposely forgotten, to the end that the infamy practised by the German ruling class may appear the deeper by contrast with the supposed innocence and integrity of the allied capitalists.

Class rule and democracy cannot exist together: they are opposite as the poles; the one negates the other. Class rule being a fact, democracy is not a factor—it is ruled out. The particular methods adopted to assure their supremacy by the ruling class in different countries may be fruitful ground for discussion, but the ruling class of no country can rightly claim that their methods result in less suffering for the class they dominate than does that of their rivals.

The same depressing poverty, side by side with untold wealth, characterises every capitalist nation, and provides a theme for sentimentalists and reformers. In every land the competition for markets results in the depression of working-class conditions, because a reduction in the proportion of the product that purchases labour power is the only means to increase the total wealth of the master class.

There is no country in the world where armed force is not used to intimidate the workers, or to bludgeon them into submission to the capitalists. Militarism is universal, and even where it is seldom used it is a standing threat to the working class, and its comparative disuse only proves the existence of other and more efficacious methods. Thus education serves the master class, because it is under their control. The children of the working class are taught what is considered necessary to make them useful to some capitalist; enough religion to check their curiosity as to physical laws and social relations; enough patriotism to inflame their minds against the workers of other lands; and as much incentive to "honest industry" as will fill the remaining gaps in their brains. By parade and inuendo the beauty and stability of civilisation (read capitalism) is impressed upon them almost from the cradle, so that to doubt the continuity

of class rule, to expect change, becomes to these "pupils" almost unthinkable.

Forced to submit to this drilling in capitalist notions and ideals, and deliberately cheated of the knowledge that would make them men in the true sense, the workers, unless they are reached by Socialist effort, seldom think of trying to extend their knowledge, to understand physical and social phenomena and the laws that govern them. They have been filled to the brim with the philosophy of the wage-slave and must remain wage-slaves till they are rescued by contact with the Socialist philosophy.

To prove that democracy does not exist is to prove that the ruling class control and are responsible for the poverty of the working class, and for every other crime committed against the workers. It is not enough that they should enslave the workers and rob them; it is not enough that they should cheat the wage-slaves of their inheritance of scientific knowledge and fill their brains with their own shoddy, huckstering notions of the bargain-counter; it is not enough that those who labour should be reduced to this degrading servility. No. When the capitalist need arises these drilled and mechanical wage-slaves must rise to the "Christian ideal" of self-sacrifice—to kill or to be killed in defence of their masters' liberty to exploit them.

"Democracy" and "Militarism" in the mouths of capitalist agents are mere catch-words, shibboleths, and excuses to justify their action in declaring war. The international capitalist class, by virtue of the fact that they control the education of the working class, are alone responsible for war. They may plead its popularity, but it is they and their agents that have made it so.

To explain war the system of society in which it occurs must be understood. Groups of capitalists divided according to nationalities do not, without a set purpose, provide for the maintenance of armies and navies. It may suit the purpose of the English capitalist to lay the sole blame for the present war on the Kaiser; but they know quite well that the German capitalists have not voted huge sums annually for armies to be controlled by their monarch, for the mere satisfaction of his personal vanity and ambition. Had German expansion in commerce and territory not been their objective, his declaration of war would have been ample proof of his lunacy in their eyes. To acquire territory means for the ruling class of any country the exploitation of a larger number of wage-slaves and increased revenues and men to augment their fighting forces, so increasing their power. While these national divisions exist the rivalry for markets and the struggle for territory must continue.

To discover how the interests of the governing class are served by war is to discover the cause of war. The land and all the instruments of production and distribution are owned by the governing class. All the resources of THEIR country, and all the members of the working class, are at their disposal. They control because they own, and they declare peace and war alternately in their class interest alone.

Until an international class-conscious Socialist party, of sufficient magnitude to be a menace, has developed, these national groups of capitalists will plunge the world into bloody wars to satisfy their greed for wealth and power. But whether each nation preserves its boundaries or whether national boundaries are completely wiped out, the slavery of the working class remains through it all. In every succeeding war these can win nothing for themselves. Their fight for freedom has yet to be fought—their watchword in every battle has yet to be learned. For even while they have been fighting out the sordid quarrels of the ruling class that class has been consciously using its power to intensify their toil and deepen their degradation.

F. F.

"Your" country is simply a larger edition of your boss's business. It is the united enterprise of The Ruling Class, Ltd. Many workers know that they are merely despised and disinherited hirelings in the smaller concern, yet are fools enough to think they are partners in the larger.

No man worthy of the name will hold back now. Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the Red Flag flying here.

WISDOM WHILE YOU WAIT.

Crooks!!!

Churchill is soon back from the front.

Where did he get his wound, can anyone tell?

Some people are doing their bit among the plebeians.

The "Daily Mail" says "The Truth Will Out."—We wonder when.

They said Socialism will kill incentive; well, capitalism is all incentive to kill.

The only "Back to the Land" movement that prospers owes its success to intensive Kultur.

Latest war news shows that the workers of all the warring nations are still getting the worst of it.

"The Times" said war is *à s. d.* Returned soldiers say it's hell right enough, but they haven't seen much of the rest.

Defendant—Justice! I want Justice! Presiding Magistrate—Silence! The defendant will please remember that he is in a Munition Court.

Capitalists grumble because the war interferes with "freedom of contract." What's the use of "freedom of contract" to those who've nothing to contract but their muscles?

Father Vaughan says the war has done an immense amount of good. A New York pastor says the war is "the greatest blessing since the Reformation." The followers of Christ talk like army contractors.

Bill Nye said: "Nero was a good vicarious fighter, and could successfully hold a man's coat all day while the other man went to the front and got killed. He loved gore, so long as it was some other man's gore."

Quite so, Bill. But you ought to hear our Horatio! He could make rings round Nero at that game.

White nations are fighting each other in Africa for the black man's land, and blacks are killing each other in support of the claims of each white thief. The intelligent and heroic patriotism of the savage is equal to that of the white workers of Europe.

In the beginning, said the black-fellow, it was like this: the missionaries came and told us to look up, and when we looked down again our land was gone.

The capitalist is a Christian—for the benefit of the working class. Here are some of the things he said, in peace time, that we ought to believe, and they were calculated to keep us docile. Now that ministers have become war recruiters and confessed counsellors of lying and murder, it is worth while recalling these texts to memory, together with what they really think about them now.

"Thou shalt not kill." (Shirkers.)
"Blessed are the peacemakers." (Traitors.)
"Resist not evil: but who soever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." (Cowards.)

"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." (Pro-Germans.)

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." (Thrifless and extravagant workers.)
"Ye cannot serve both God and Mammon." (Where's the difference?)

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God." (Worth the risk.)

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." (Ah! but Christ didn't say when.)

THE SLACKER.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

LAW OFFICERS' SALARIES.

The Treasury has supplied the following particulars of payments to the Law Officers of the Crown since 1905, in reply to a question by Sir Arthur Markham:

Sir R. B. Finlay, Attorney-General 1905-6, £9,768.
Sir J. L. Walton, Attorney-General 1906-8, £23,502.
Sir W. S. Robson, Attorney-General 1907-11, £11,210.
Solicitor-General 1906-7, £16,168.
Sir Rufus Isaacs, Attorney-General 1910-14, £48,752.
Solicitor-General 1909-10, £5110.
Sir John Simon, Attorney-General 1913-15, £21,231.
Solicitor-General 1910-13, £15,111.
Sir S. O. Buckmaster, Solicitor-General 1913-15, £14,400.
Sir Edward Carson, Solicitor-General 1905, £6,352.
Sir S. T. Evans, Solicitor-General 1907-10, £22,098.
The largest amount paid to an Attorney-General in any one year was £16,762, received by Sir Rufus Isaacs in 1912-13. The largest amount paid to a Solicitor-General was £14,303, received by Sir John Simon in 1913-14. ("Daily Mail," Dec. 22.)

These are some of the people who have been seen and are getting the brass. The M.P.'s are getting theirs—and keeping it. Asquith says he means to stick to his salary, so does Lloyd George and the rest. They are not very united. Each says he is the man; the others are always "too late." But they are united enough when it comes to taking the brass and abusing the workers.

Now, you think, perhaps, that they will arrange some scheme of deduction for war purposes from the salaries of these people who are really getting the money? Well, you are wrong again. It would be an insult to these moneyed people to compel them to contribute. They are going to make the workers do it. Perpend!

WORKERS' ECONOMY SCHEME.

A committee of employers and representatives of the British Steel Smelters' Association recommends that each employee should contribute weekly on the following scale of earnings:

£1 to 30s.	6d. to 1d.
30s. to 40s.	1s. 6d. to 2s.
40s. to 60s.	3s. to 4s. 6d.
Above 60s.	10 per cent., 6s.

It is suggested that the amount should be deducted weekly from the wages and be invested in the Post Office. ("Daily Mail," Dec. 23.)

Think over it, ye slaves!

These are mere straws which indicate the way the wind blows. They show which class is getting the profits, and which class has got to make the sacrifices. Even in the matter of the drink regulations there is one law for the ruling class and another for the workers. The Parliamentary correspondent of the London "Daily Chronicle" (Nov. 10th) was moved to remark:

Mr. Asquith appears to share the reluctance of a small section of members to the application of the "No treating" order to the House of Commons. Asked by Mr. Leif Jones to-day if he would give an opportunity to the House to vote upon the following question "that it be an instruction to the Kitchen Committee that the no-treating order now in force in other parts of London shall be observed in this House," the Prime Minister said he was afraid it would not be possible to give such opportunity. As there is no great rush of business, it is not clear why an opportunity of this kind could not be given. Were it offered there is good reason to believe that the House would decide to enforce the order within its precincts. As it is, it occupies a very invidious position in the public regard. Mr. Leif Jones was thoroughly justified in saying that the in-terness of the Government in this matter "makes its exhortations to economy sound somewhat hollow." In its refusal last May to follow the King's example in banishing intoxicants from his table during the war and now in its disregard of the no-treating order the House has cut an inglorious figure.

To say that the House "would" enforce it, is hypocrisy. The House could—but will not.

The fact that it is taken completely for granted that the profits are the share of the master class in the war, while sacrifice is the part of the working class, explains statements like the following made by the "Foreign Affairs" correspondent of the "Sunday Times" (Dec. 26th) in an article on the "Economic Results of the War":

A distinguished member of the French Parliament gave me the other day the best formula I have yet heard expressing the conditions which are indispensable to victory.

"Let us organise the allied nations," he said, "in such a way that the state of war will become a normal state instead of an accidental state."

Thus, if our Governments succeed in establishing a sufficient equilibrium between our needs, industrial, commercial, and otherwise, and our military necessities, the community will gradually get used to the present abnormal life which through force of habit will have become normal. We will be able to go on fighting the enemy indefinitely, and to turn to the best use the unlimited wealth in foodstuffs, raw material, men, and gold, of the British Empire, of the Russian Empire, of France and of Italy.

The italics are our own. The "community" will get used to the war, which by "force of habit" will have become normal. The word "community" in the mouths of these arm-chair warriors means that the capitalist class will get used to taking abnormal profits from war stocks and war works, while the workers will get used to being overworked, maimed, or killed, and "will be able to go on fighting the enemy indefinitely" in order to perpetuate those profits. The prospect is most glorious! Yet they say there is no Class War.

HERE AND THERE.

Arnold Bennet has been touring munition factories with the object of discovering why the workers do not invest in the war loan. He discovered that, the workers there, living from hand to mouth as they do elsewhere, prefer to keep the few shillings they are able to save in the house. They dare not risk lending them to the Government, because they may be wanted before 1935.

"After I had done visiting works" says the same writer, "an employer said to me: 'Some of the union leaders are splendid. I have one. He always does everything he can to make things run smooth and increase the output. And about 50 per cent. of the men are the same—quite in earnest.' Good, old labour leaders. The employer in question knows that something of an oily nature is required to make things run smoothly. But what a simple Simon Arnold must be to give the show away. The function of the labour leader—to make things run smoothly—must be kept dark or "the things" get suspicious and the oil-can is ineffective.

Mr. Ford, of peace fame, has visions of a practical utopia in the very near future, to be reared on "The manufacture of a new farm tractor, which is to make it possible for farmers to have a six-hour day, for it is claimed that the machine will do the ploughing, threshing, pumping, churning, washing, stacking, harvesting, mowing, and transportation of produce, and then will carry the family to church on Sunday. The active member of the firm is to be Mr. Ford's son, Edsel, who says that both workmen and buyers will share in the profits, and the workmen will spend only four months in the factory, the other eight being spent on the farm, where they will be able to study possible improvements."

The instalment of this mechanical wonder will necessarily reduce the number of hands required, and if these make the best use of their time during the eight months on the farm, the machine, when not carrying some of them to church, will be busy carrying fresh batches to the workhouse. That is the beauty of profit-sharing; the more you study the harder you have to work to keep your job.

"I should like to go toward those they call our enemies and say to them: 'Brothers, let us fight together; the enemy is behind us.' Yes, since I have been wearing this uniform I do not feel any hatred toward those who are in front; but my hatred has grown against those who have power in their hands."

The above is from a letter found on a German prisoner and quoted by the "Daily Chronicle" (17.12.15). We send him greetings, and do not mind in the least anonymous letters or attacks by the "Globe" or any other capitalist rag. Our German comrade, though inclined to be sentimental in the rest of his letter, at least recognises that the workers, after they have fought their master's war, have yet to fight their own against the masters—the Class War.

F. F.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE:**

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

- BATTERSEA.**—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.
- BIRMINGHAM.** E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicall-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.
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- WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd. Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
- WATFORD.**—L. A. Hudson, Secy., 1 Holywell-road. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.
- WEST HAM.**—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.
- WOOD GREEN.**—C. Revell, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- “Weekly People” (New York).
“British Columbia Federationist” (Vancouver).
“Freedom” (London).
“The Call,” (New York).
“Canadian Forward,” (Ontario).
“North West Worker” (Washington).
“Cotton's Weekly,” (Canada).
“Appeal to Reason,” (Kansas).
“International Socialist” (Sydney).
“Western Clarion” (Vancouver).
“Socialist” (Melbourne).
“New Age” (Buffalo, N.Y.).
“Industrial Union News” (Detroit).

“SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM.”

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.O.B.

AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

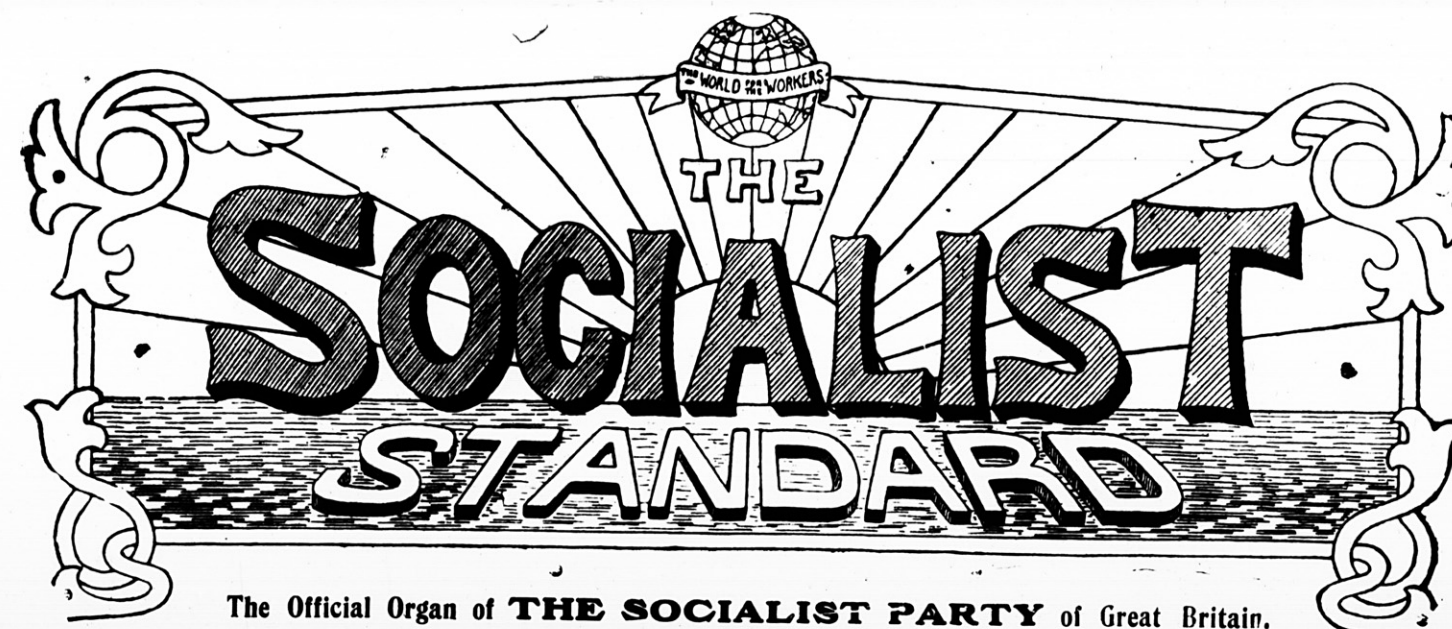
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No. 138. Vol. 12.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1916.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOCIALISM AND WAR.

IS THE PRESENT WAR JUSTIFIABLE?

There are worse things than war. The vast tragedy of the slow starvation in times of "glorious peace" of one-third of the population, is not spectacular: it is sordid. The wholesale and ever-present stunting of the minds and bodies of the toiling millions, in order that wealth and leisure may be the lot of the few, does not provide striking headlines or sensational articles in the unspeakable Press. These things are taboo. They are dangerous. But they exist, and in real horror, extent and importance, they transcend manifold all the suffering in even the war of the nations.

We who drag these hateful truths into the light of day, and reap thereby a harvest of opprobrium from the wealthy and comfortable, do so solely to make our fellows conscious of the existence of that greater war—the class struggle—in the prosecution of which, indeed, the workers will find no Geneva Conventions observed by the enemy.

But is the present war justifiable? Has war, indeed, at any past period been anything but a curse? The answer will, perhaps, be in the affirmative, yet it is possible that war has at an early period played no unimportant role in quickening social development.

Before commerce developed its relatively modern power of sweeping before it the whole of civilization's industrial activity, history treats almost exclusively of communities that were practically self-contained and self-supporting. And the further back into the dawn of history that one peers, the more independent and isolated were the social groupings, and the fainter the influence of exchange or other peaceful means of intercommunication.

How then, to take an illustration, did the chipped flint scrapers, rough hammer-stones and grinding pebbles of palaeolithic times, give way over such vast areas to the vastly superior worked polished stone axe-hammers, mortars, knives and spear-heads of the neolithic age? How were these again displaced by bronze? How were these discoveries that led to hunting being supplemented with pasture, and this with agriculture, propagated so widely? There is no doubt that nomadic intercourse and barter played no unimportant part even here, but it is in the highest degree probable that one of the chief agencies was war. Certainly the various discoveries which facilitated the obtaining of the means of subsistence fostered an increase in the power and numbers of the favoured social groups. Thence came again the need for migration and the opportunity for plunder; and this entailed war upon other groups and the absorption of many of the weaker into the more advanced social stream. Well into comparatively recent times it is noticeable that war has played a similar part. The great colonising expeditions were sometimes examples of this. But from the 16th century onward it is obvious that trade

had become the chief means of modifying the social institutions of the world, and securing the prevalence of the more efficient economic methods of production over feudal and individual forms. It was commerce that gradually disrupted antiquated social forms and laid the foundations of the world-wide capitalist system, in which, if the thieves now quarrel, it is solely about their share of the plunder of the world's workers. Trade, augmented by advancing powers of production, has specialised labour, localities, nations, and even hemispheres, in the supply of the material needs of society, until to-day every nation is really a dependent unit in a haphazardly developed world organisation of industry. Commodities, and the laws of their being, now govern all men. Each nation, each man and woman, is dependent for many of his simplest wants upon the activities of others at the farthest places of the globe. Thus the world, despite its conflicts—and no longer because of them—is swept along in one stream of evolution, having identical problems in every region, and with hostile interests only because mankind's activity is governed by a brigand class scrambling for the lion's share of the world's plunder.

Even if justification of any sort could be found for war in the distant past, none could be found to-day, except for war against the system that now engenders needless hatred, carnage and poverty. What are the facts?

Stimulated by the rivalry of commerce, the productive capacity of the nations has multiplied manifold. Productivity has, indeed, grown to such an extent that it has outstripped the capacity of trade to dispose of the products in the markets. Trusts, Cartels and Rings are formed to increase profit by limiting production! Clearly the political system based on trade has also outlived its utility. It is now an obstacle to social and industrial advance, and no longer an agency of progress. Production is for profit, not for use; and therefore a superabundance of produce now brings want in its train! The producers must starve because they have produced too much! Never in previous ages could abundance have had such an anomalous result. *Famine or war* were formerly the causes of want, but now-a-days this is completely reversed, and a *plethora* of wealth glutts the markets and causes starvation among the producers, while it is *war* and *waste* that bring about a factitious prosperity!

It is from this great anomaly of production for sale that modern war chiefly arises. It is a result of the increasing difficulty of disposing, through trade, of the overwhelming mass of products that capitalism creates. The forces of production are straining at their capitalist bonds. Every increase in man's productive power, every advance that provides more wealth with less labour, *should* mean more leisure and

more of the good things of life to all who produce. The fact that another community offers a larger surplus of products in exchange for a less quantity of our own *should* mean likewise more wealth and leisure to all. Yet capitalism produces the exact contrary. It makes the increased output a weapon to beat down wages and increase toil on the one hand, and to create unemployment and starvation on the other. It makes, in the same way, the increased wealth production of the nations an instrument of international strife and suffering, instead of a blessing to mankind.

It is this super-productivity of labour, therefore, turned blindly against humanity by capital, that is the forcing-bed of militarism, Imperialism and war. The home market is choked; the producers are too poor to buy back their produce, and the rich are surfeited; therefore the surplus must be dumped at the best price available on the world-market, there to result, not in the feeding, but in the starving of the foreign worker. Other countries act likewise, and the world-market also is choked with unsaleable wealth. Hence we get the struggles over colonies, treaty ports, open ports, spheres of influence, protectorates, tariffs, Zollvereins, and "most favoured nation" clauses, all of which are so much inflammable material in dangerous proximity to the torch-brandishing national rivals scuffling for first place on the world-market. Foreign trade, it has been said, is the safety-valve of capitalism; but that has been choked up years ago, and from being the safety-valve it became the chief source of danger.

For how many dismal years did we not hear the fearful story of the great German menace? Continental rivals dared challenge the domination of the champion thieves of Europe. They dared to claim also a "place in the sun." Thenceforth the sleepy, old firm, still recumbent on their laurels, set themselves to thwart them, diplomatically at first, since that was easiest. Thwarted diplomatically, and seeing that force would only yield to force, seeing that only successful war could enlarge the outlet for their goods upon the world-market, and silence and crush the proletarian menace at home, the continental rival increased and perfected its military forces. Meanwhile the old firm, with one eye on its rival and the other on its own working class, increased and perfected its fighting force. This was done amicably in the sacred name of peace. Nevertheless, they both foresaw that war was inevitable. Let profits be maintained, they said, though the world be deluged with our workers' blood! The race for armaments became the dominant pursuit of Europe. The Hague Conference was to set the pace. But in the fulness of time hell scorched through the brown paper that divided it from "peace," and became visible to every peace crank.

And what excuse do they now offer for the

war? The true one? Not—likely! They all profess to fight for the "rights of small nations," for the "sanctity of treaties," for the "freedom of Europe," for the "freedom of the seas," and last, but by no means least, for "honour"! Napoleon cynically said in his correspondence that one can do anything with a man by playing on his sense of honour; and truly, all the present belligerents have taken his advice. The use of that magic word is made the incentive to dishonour, the word "freedom" becomes an inducement to rigid slavery, the "rights of small nations" are made the hypocritical compensation for the destruction of the worker's own. Thus capitalism's blessed words mask the war's ugly object, which is, on each hand, to destroy the other's power to add to the world's wealth. "Crush German trade for ever," said Mr. Runciman on Jan. 10th, "and never give her the chance of reconstructing her economic machinery." Thus the enemy's productive power and man power are to be annihilated, solely for the furtherance of the home capitalist's trade and profit. Is it not therefore plain that capitalism is completely played out as an agent of economic and social progress? It now leads directly toward the suicide of civilization. The future of humanity necessitates the end of this system, which, because another State makes available to the world a multitude of useful things for less expense, makes that the astounding basis of a world war! Thus does the wages system turn economic progress against mankind, making the blessing of the wonderful and growing producing power of the workers of the world a curse to humanity.

Need one labour the point? It is undeniable that capitalism, with its patriotism, fosters jealousy and hatred of the rest of the world. It makes one's immediate interest depend on the ruin of his fellow. It creates unnecessary strife and wasteful competition. It sows the seed of hostility and murder in the hearts of all. At this stage of social development, does the industrial activity of men and women demand such a frightful result? Emphatically, NO! Since trade and class ownership are now the hindrances to humanity's enjoyment of the abundance it creates, capitalist control and its commerce must go! Economic evolution has laid the foundations of a saner society. Social production cries aloud for social ownership and control. Competition must give way to co-operation. Trading with its gluts and crises and anarchy, must give way to consciously planned distribution. The giant social productive forces are already developed. They are already run entirely by wage workers, but for absentee shareholders. Moreover, the class-conscious intelligence of the workers is gradually awakening to these facts. Surely, then, the day of mankind's deliverance cannot be long delayed!

And what must be the inevitable result of such a change on social international relations? Social co-operation, by making each producer a partner with a voice in the control of the vastly increased social wealth (which the abolition of capitalism's incredible waste of products and productive powers will provide) will give every individual a direct incentive to increase the common wealth, to promote the interest and prosperity of his fellows, and to increase the productivity and efficiency of the whole. Thus Socialism brings about a unity in the interests of all in place of the present antagonisms. A plethora of production, under such conditions, makes no victims, since all are sharers in the increased leisure, and joyful participants in the surplus wealth. Bitter competition, which makes each prosper by the ruin of his competitor, ceases entirely; in its place arises a healthy emulation which encourages and promotes the good of others, since only by pulling together, and not against each other, can the burden of each be lightened and the prosperity of each be secured. Society ceases to be a scramble; it becomes a harmony.

As in internal affairs, so in external; anarchy gives place to order, and hostile and divergent interests to unity of aim. Rational exchange takes the place of the trade war. The more of the wealth of the other community is offered for part of our own, the greater will be our joy, and the greater our wealth and leisure. To-day the effect is precisely opposite. Foreign production is the enemy, and an abundance of inexpensive

foreign goods spells disaster. The difference between the influence of co-operation and of competition on social relations can, indeed, hardly be emphasised sufficiently. It affects the whole of society. To-day, two bakers, who supply the same neighbourhood, each wish the other ruined and out of the way. Two journeyman bakers, seeking work from the same master, each wish the other less efficient, or dead, in order to get the job. Many are now led to silently hope that the horrible European carnage may not cease, in order that they may enjoy the "prosperity" of a livelihood making instruments of slaughter! The existing inhuman system, in fact, causes many, who now work in an absent warrior's place, to desire, in their fear of future unemployment, that he may never return! To such an extent does the curse of capitalism wither men's better nature.

But under industrial democracy all producers are led to wish rather that their numbers were greater in order to lighten the labour of each. All producers are induced to wish their fellows more efficient and productive, not less, in order to increase the good things of life made available to all. Brotherhood, national and international, will be the outcome, because in the world-wide social organism, as in each community, the interests of each will be clearly and directly furthered only by the promotion of the like interests of all. The interest of each country will

cease to be the destruction or impoverishment of its neighbour, but will be wholly concerned with increasing the wealth to be exchanged, and to promoting a closer world-co-operation and helpfulness. Then, indeed, war will have ceased to be possible, since its causes will have passed away.

This, therefore, is the message of Socialism. The successful termination of the class struggle must herald the end of wars and free all mankind from servitude and wasteful toil. The need of the time is for the wage-workers of all conditions to advance unitedly to the control of society, to oust the parasites, and to consciously organise production for the good of all instead of for the benefit of a few.

With the certainty of the ending of the brigand interest and its commercial and class antagonisms, who can doubt of the future of humanity? With the inevitability of the promotion of every direct incentive to mutual aid and fraternity by Socialism, what man worthy the name, who sees these things, can hesitate to throw in his lot with the Socialist Party in their task of helping to awaken the workers to their class mission? The Socialist aim is worthy of man's highest efforts; for only victory in the supreme class battle of the wage-workers can end poverty and war, and open to human kind the upward way to a healthier and kinder social life.

F. C. W.

NATIONAL GUILDS.

An organisation calling itself the "National Guilds League" is running serial articles in certain trade-union journals. The combined articles constitute a sort of manifesto to the workers. This manifesto is couched in ambiguous and indefinite language which bewilders the reader and nullifies the effect of the very few passages that would otherwise convey something of the meaning they desire to express. One or two examples from the very first paragraph will make this clear. Quoting Rousseau, they say: "Men are born for freedom but everywhere we find they are in chains. The people have struck off the chains of privilege to find themselves loaded with the chains of progress." To tell us that "the chains of which Rousseau was thinking, was the chains of the past, while the chains with which we are bound to-day are the chains of the future," does not help to solve the enigma. To say that the people have struck off the chains of privilege is untrue, and the concluding portion of the paragraph is indeterminate and vague. "The great lesson of the 19th century for all reformers must be the recognition of the truth that political liberty unsupported by economic resource is but barren if it be not followed by the deliverance of the vast mass of mankind from industrial slavery. The ideal of freedom will not be recovered till the workers learn to demand that man shall take his economic destiny in his own hands." In the first place, reformers will not willingly learn anything except how to make their nostrums palatable. Secondly, the workers will gain nothing by learning to demand.

Freedom is only possible for the workers when they recognise that their slavery is due to the class ownership of the means of life, and consciously organising for that purpose, abolish class ownership and establish society on the basis of common ownership with democratic control. Political liberty, or more correctly speaking from the National Guild's standpoint, the franchise is not dependent for anything the workers might achieve by its means upon economic resources, but upon knowledge. The various institutions that are encouraged by the ruling class are fully alive to this fact. It is quite true to say that the ruling class en masse, is opposed to the enlightenment of the working class. It is over the question of the spreading of knowledge that the class struggle wages most fiercely. Everywhere the agents of capitalism are busy impeding the diffusion of Socialist knowledge, and promoting the fallacies and superstitions of the other class. The party system of government is not so much an institution for settling differences between sections of the master class, as a method by which

capitalist ideals may be forcibly impressed on the minds of the workers. And room is not made in the Government for "labourism" because it represents working-class interests, but because it falsifies the working-class position, declaring as it does all the time for society reform and the perpetuation of capitalism. Trade unionism is encouraged because it imprisons the worker's mind within the narrow sphere of barter over the price of his labour-power, while religion answers every enquiry with reference to divine omniscience and immutability. On the capitalist side every precaution is taken to hinder the diffusion of knowledge and to prevent the worker from exercising his intelligence freely. Wherever the workers "dimly" perceive the antagonism existing between classes, an army of agents are ready with sophistries and lies to intensify the mist, through which they see dimly, and render them impotent. The ruling class fight the working class with knowledge already on their side. Every contingency is provided for as soon as it arises. And the end and object of their political and so-called economic institutions is the continued prostration of the working class and the prolongation of their era of power. Knowing, as we do, that the ruling class thus consciously endeavour to impede or hinder the diffusion of knowledge, it is worse than useless to bewail the fact. Knowing that labour leaders are the treacherous and corrupt tools of the master class, it would be absurd to bemoan their treachery. The National Guild says: "When the doctrines of Socialism began to be preached in England no strong class-conscious labour movement was at hand to demand for the trade union its vital share in the new world of which men were dreaming. Even William Morris was unable to carry his message to any but a handful of the working class. The stupidity of this remark is in itself apparent, for a class-conscious labour movement in England at that time would have been proof that Socialism was not 'beginning to be preached,' but that it had already been preached for some time. The essence of Socialism is the recognition of the antagonism of the two classes in society, which is class-consciousness. It is sheer waste of time to deplore the fact that William Morris was unable to reach but a handful of the workers. The only time that is not wasted is that which is spent in understanding and promoting Socialist knowledge.

The National Guilds magnify the function of trade unions, investing them with a significance and importance they do not possess. They are exhorted to invest themselves with ideals to be achieved somewhere in the distant future. "But

trade unionists should regard the State neither as a master, nor as an enemy—but as a partner in the future with his industrial guild." Of course it is readily seen that the fact of a worker belonging or not belonging to a trade union makes no difference as to how he regards the State. The State, or the organised power of the capitalist class, is expressed through Parliament, which the National Guilds describes as "The executive committee of the governing class." A "governing class" and a "master class" are synonymous. The sooner, therefore, that the trade unionist regards the State in its true character, as the organised expression of capitalist power, the better will it be for him, because he will recognise his enslavement, master and enemy at once. He will know that it is absurd to think of becoming partners with the capitalist in the capitalist State. Between exploiters and exploited, partnership is out of the question. While they have the power, the exploiters will repudiate it. When the exploited have the power they will deny the right of the exploiting class to partnership in the results of their labour. The governing class will therefore cease to exist. It will be absorbed in the community of free men and women to be established by the working class. The State, the embodiment of capitalist power, will be unnecessary and unthinkable under Socialism, because free men and women are not governed, but administer things for themselves in their own interests.

The sentence following the last quotation is more ambiguous still. "It is the task of the leaders to lead the workers to this goal: it is the business of the rank and file to see that they do"; but if the rank and file know the way they can do without leaders: they have already learned to walk.

Then an attempt is made to define the terms "State Socialism" and "State Capitalism." Under the latter nationalisation of railways is given as an instance and its operation clearly shown in the following remark. "Nationalize the railways to-morrow on this basis and you will not have moved an inch towards the destruction of the wage system." So far they are on safe ground; any capitalist lack would admit so much, even while mouthing the doctrine that the railway worker shared with the working class in the national ownership of the railways. They seem to imagine, however, that the utopia of Bernard Shaw and Edward Bellamy would not only destroy the wage system, but that such a utopia is the natural outcome of social evolution: the actual form with which society will next invest itself. Briefly, it works—in fiction of course—thus: "The community would pay a fixed or an equal sum to all, whether they did little or much, hard or easy work." The absurdity of this dream-society consists in the impossibility of its establishment. Either the working class or the master class would have to usher it in. The latter can be left out of the question, it cannot be anything but capitalist. The working class, on the other hand, will only move towards emancipation scientifically. It will have had enough of limited incomes, equal or not, under capitalism. Until the workers understand Socialism no change of a revolutionary nature is possible. Understanding Socialism they will not waste time and energy in arranging utopias, preserving a cash basis for everything, or filling museums with profit and loss accounts. Production and distribution will be carried out with the least possible expenditure of labour-power, because every saving of labour-time would mean more time for enjoyment.

We may be sure that those who write of "incomes under Socialism" will follow with some remarks on prices, the second is implied when the first is postulated. They say: "In order to be free the workers must be directly self-governing—not, of course, in the fixing of prices, which must be regulated in consultation with the consumers' authorities—but in the process and method of this work."

The first slip leads naturally to the second. An income is a stipulated amount of the means of exchange, this income under the guilds is to represent the total exchange-value of all the use-values each member is permitted to consume in a given period. Obviously, then, every use-value is priced, in order to confine the individual to his income. The use-value is then still a commodity, an article produced for exchange. Not only so, under the guilds these commodities

are produced for profits, for we are told that "such surplus-value as may accrue after paying the expenses of each industry will go to the common exchequer, not as profits of a common exploiter, but as the necessary funds for carrying on State activities."

We have, therefore, under the proposed system, to be known as the guilds, commodities, incomes, exchange and prices, all of which are capitalist institutions that, in the opinion of the writers, should be preserved. This opinion clearly shows their admiration for the forms and methods of capitalism. Elsewhere they tell us that price includes surplus-value, but it does not seem to strike them that the only reason for the existence of prices is that the owners of commodities may realise this surplus-value. Having abolished the capitalist, they had to invent, or rather, preserve a receiver for this surplus-value—the State, with activities too, as though the workers were not, even now, sick of State activities, State interference, diplomacy, aggression at home and abroad.

That they really mean some sort of organised State with real power, and consequently inimical to freedom is shown in the following: "It is essential to democracy that the workers should vote, not only for their political rulers, but also for their industrial rulers." Under the guilds, then, we have two sets of rulers and—mere workers; the difference being that the workers elect both, whereas now they only elect their political rulers, which ought, in the meantime, to impress them with the stupidity of setting up rulers of any kind.

Under the heading "The Method," we are introduced to an old friend thinly disguised: Industrial Unionism. The introduction is preceded by the usual criticism of Labour-Party methods, that, of course, being the industrial unionist conception of working-class political action. But note the reason given for the failure of the Labour Party.

"Now we claim that much of the energy that has been expended upon building up the Labour Party has been wasted. The so-called political power which it has conferred upon the workers is largely fictitious, and it is fictitious because it does not represent power in the economic sphere. An interest or a party can only express itself in Acts of Parliament when it has economic security to back it, and labour lacks that economic security. To use a phrase that is now becoming somewhat threadbare by repetition, Economic power precedes and dominates political power."

Not "much," but the whole of the energy expended by the workers in support of the Labour Party has been wasted, because that party has never stood for Socialism. One mistake, both on the part of the Labour Party and the National Guilds, consists in their belief that it is possible to improve conditions for the working class by "Acts of Parliament."

They try to prove their "threadbare" phrase by citing the case of "The economically powerful railway-owners, the mine-owners and merchants and ship-owners" who were "allowed to dictate their own terms to the Government" during the present war, while the railway-workers and miners were granted a small bonus, and that only "because they threatened the economic interest of the owners, they threatened to strike. Where the owners were concerned, Government was pliable; where the non-possessors were concerned, Government was indifferent—until the non-possessors threatened the owners in the economic sphere."

This section is designed to show the weakness of the workers in comparison with the capitalists in the House of Commons; a comparison that loses its point when we remember that the writers have already described Parliament as the executive of the capitalist class. Having once postulated this much it is childish to forget it so quickly, and to suit the later contention, regard Parliament as a sort of independent tribunal that must bargain, both with the workers and with the class whose interests it represents. This is precisely what they do in their effort to substantiate their claim that "economic power precedes and dominates political power."

If the statement read, economic weakness precedes political power, there might be some reason for its becoming threadbare, like many another platitude or proverb. The fore-runners

of the capitalist class, before the revolution, were aided by the monarchy and aristocracy, and were powerless to stop the process until they obtained political power and control of armed forces. In the most recent historical example, therefore, they can find no confirmation for their statement.

By economic power is meant, presumably, control of wealth or the means of wealth production. But this is only possible when there is adequate protection for such control or ownership. In any form of society divided into possessors and non-possessors, protection can only be ensured by the display of physical force. Under Feudalism the barons maintained their possessions by trained bands immediately under their control. But under Capitalism the defence of property is vested in the executive of the whole robber class. The real power of the possessing class lies in their control of the armed forces; without these their continued ownership would be impossible, because they dare not oppose the demands of the workers. Being numerically weaker than the working class, the first general clash of interests would mean their complete subversion. A large measure of the success of trade unionism in its early days was due to the unpreparedness of the capitalist executive. The armed forces and police were not adequate in numbers or organisation to cope with the riotous action of the strikers.

Then follows the application of this threadbare phrase to the working class. Before they can hope to win political power they must control wealth, or the means of wealth production. This task is embodied in "the method," and endorses Industrial Union methods from the "irritation strike" to "the lock-out of the masters."

Neither trade unions nor industrial unions can, with unemployment increasing and wages falling, accumulate funds to carry on numberless strikes with the success necessary to inspire confidence in the workers to ensure their continuance. Bluff will achieve but little against the master class. The workers' organisation must have the solid backing of unlimited funds: without these they can withhold their labour-power only for a limited period. The "League" treads lightly over this ground; they seem to recognise these limits. They say: "the men have their labour power, which is equally necessary, but not being properly organised it cannot be withheld for any great length of time." Here, as elsewhere, they deliberately shirk the point. Organisation, and particularly their own form, has become a fetish to them, so much so, that the real necessity—funds—is pushed into the background and forgotten.

"If labour is organised for economic effort, political power follows" is another phrase which, unsupported by evidence is unproven, but which tacitly admits the necessity of the working class to conquer political power. There is ample evidence in this manifesto to prove that its writers utterly fail to understand the meaning of their own phrases. Political power seems a mystery to them, because they are unable to see that it means control of organised physical forces.

A working-class party must be a political party, because its first object is political: the capture of the entire political and administrative machinery. This is the only means by which the ruling class can be dispossessed of the means of wealth production, the character of these means of production, or the tools and methods in operation when the working class gain control, will determine, both, production and distribution and the form of organisation necessary for a real democratic administration of the means of life.

The "League" provides minute instructions to trade unionists as to the ideals that are to be kept constantly before them, and the details of present action that make for the ideals some where in the future. They are "lifted" from Industrial Unionism. Unions must be "black-leg proof." "Managers, superintendents, clerks of every grade within an industry must be persuaded or forced to unite and control."

By these means the workers create organisations capable of carrying on production co-operatively. Then we can say to the capitalist you are no longer necessary, we are prepared to take your place." And the masters, observing the

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HISTORY AS A SCIENCE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

I. Introduction.

In its widest sense, history may be defined as "a record and interpretation of the phenomena of the Universe or any part thereof." Thus we may have a history of the stars, of the solar system, of animals, of man as an organism, or of man in society. This last-named phase—man in society—constitutes history in the restricted meaning of the term, and in the sense in which it is most commonly used. It is history in this narrower sense with which we are to deal in this essay. To make a science of history it must be capable of treatment in the same manner as the other phases of the activities of the universe. The evolution of human society must be shown to be governed by certain laws of development, to be ascertained only from the facts of history, and these laws must be shown to be the outcome of demonstrable natural forces.

The history of, or the evolution of, the celestial bodies, or of the earth, called respectively cosmogony and geology (i.e., historical geology) is most decidedly scientific in the strictest sense of the word. In fact it is only by the scientific method that anything like, for instance, a history of the earth could be arrived at. It is usually assumed to be altogether different in the case of history in the restricted sense, meaning the development of human society. Here chance, caprice, and "free will" are supposed to have a play which is unthinkable in any other phase of universal activity. The extreme complexity of the material; the prevalent belief in the freedom of the will, which is accompanied by the faith in the power of "Great Men"; the belief in supernatural agencies controlling the actions of men: all these varied factors combine to hide the essential nature of history. Then, again, there is the systematic suppression of many of the important facts of history, and there is that which is necessarily characteristic of all new studies, namely, insufficient data, which is only overcome as the science ages and experience is gained. We see, then, the numerous obstacles in the way of the formation of a more or less exact science of history. It is, therefore, not uncommon to find history regarded as little more than a hopeless jumble of intertwining forces and clashing wills, accident playing a prominent part; a record of lost causes, dead ideals and movements, which, having no guiding thread will work out its troubled trail until this planet is no longer a human habitation.

One by one, however, these obstacles are being weakened and overthrown. Archeology and ethnology have brought their quota of facts, comparative philology has added further light, and documentary evidence of almost all times and places where writing was possible has been forthcoming. To the best of our ability we will now attempt, as Edward Jenks puts it, "to evolve order out of the chaos of history."

II. The Materialist Foundations of History.

To have history movement is essential. To understand the causes underlying and controlling that movement is to understand history. Considered broadly, the history of human society presents a continuous movement or process of change, showing at different stages distinct social forms and conditions. Looked at in detail, however, it is seen that these changes are the result of the totality of an infinitely large number of simple movements exhibiting a great diversity of character; these are the movements, the activities, of the individual. The individual activities of the members of society, even of the so-called great men, appear insignificant in comparison with the tremendous changes which, combined, they effect in society. So also do the microscopic foraminifera appear insignificant, yet their accumulated skeletons form the solid ground on which rest towering cities.

Man's actions, or at least those which concern us here, are in the main performed consciously, and with a view to accomplishing a desired end. "In the history of society the mere actions are all endowed with consciousness; they are agents

imbued with deliberation or passion, men working towards an appointed end."¹ The conceptions both of the end to be achieved and the ways and means—the actions—necessary to achieve it, are based upon the ideas generated and accumulated in the brain. Therefore the fundamental directing factor behind human actions must be sought in the mental concepts, the ideas of the individual. We must clearly distinguish, however, between the motive for action, with the mental concepts which underlie it, and the concepts determining the means of realising the end desired. We may have totally different actions, based upon distinct ideas, yet having the same objective or motive.

Let us take as an illustration the simple case of satisfying hunger. After remaining a certain time without food man, like other animals, becomes conscious of a craving for food. From experience he knows that in order to obtain a more or less regular supply of food with which to satisfy his hunger it is necessary that certain actions be performed. The sensation of hunger is common to men in all forms of society, but the character of the actions necessary to appease it vary according to circumstances and conditions, and the train of thoughts which determines the action to be taken necessarily varies also. Of course, actually the process is much more complex than this, a whole series of actions each having a distinct object in view are usually needed to realise one ultimate aim.

We see that while the impulse to activity may be (and usually is) involuntary, the mode of action itself is consciously thought out, and what appears to be the best method decided upon—that which is adopted depending upon the nature and degree of the individual's experience. Those impulses which impel men to action by giving rise to certain desires are varied and complex. The basis of them all is a desire for happiness, for a feeling of well-being. Three fundamental ones are part of man's physical nature; upon two—the instincts of self preservation and of reproduction—his very existence depends. Thirdly, man being a social animal, we have the social instincts. Each of these impulses can be subdivided; the first into satisfying individual physical necessities, such as hunger, thirst, and sleep, and avoiding danger; the second into sexual desires and parental affection; the third into the so-called moral virtues, such as the sense of obedience and subordination to the social welfare, love of truth, and altruism in general, and also the liking for the company of one's fellows and hatred of loneliness. Other impulses more or less inherent in man are admiration and love of the beautiful, simple curiosity, etc.

Having thus briefly dealt with the basic motives of human activity, we will now consider the ideas which determine and control the action taken.

How do man's ideas arise? Man, like all other animals, responds to the stimulus of his environment. The means through which he perceives his surroundings lie in the organs of sense—the organs of touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight. These organs receive impressions which are transmitted along the nerves to the brain, where by a process of comparison with previously received impressions, concepts arise as to the form and attributes of, and the relations between, that which is perceived. These concepts are capable of being more or less completely stored up in the memory, and thus serve as guides to the interpretation of subsequent perceptions. All the complex ideas which inhabit the brain of man are derived from conceptions based upon inheritance and experience. The fact that ideas can be accumulated and inherited, and drawn upon when wanted, and also that they can be passed from one individual to another, largely obscures the fact of their sensory origin.

It is, then, the character of the environment which determines the ideas, and the particular ideas held by an individual depend upon his environment and his means of perceiving it, his past experiences and the experiences of others in cases where their conceptions are transferable to him. That growth, both in quantity and variety, of ideas which is characteristic of the history of humanity, must have its origin in the factors above outlined.

Let us now see what are the factors which, by

¹ Feuerbach (p. 104) by Frederick Engels.

changing men's ideas, and consequently his actions, form determinants in the evolution of society. First we will consider the factor which, being the substratum in which ideas generate, must necessarily be a determinant to the condition of human concepts; we refer to the brain and its reasoning powers. In so far as man's faculty of reason has developed, it certainly must be considered a very important cause of progressive evolution. There is, however, every reason to believe that over an immense period of time, extending from far beyond the dawn of civilisation to the present day, there has been no appreciable change in man's intellectual capacity, however much his actual knowledge may have increased. The redskin following the trail commands reasoning faculties every bit as keen as, if not even more so than, the civilised European.² Of course, as man gradually diverged from the conditions of his ape-like ancestors, his intelligence would at first be little superior to theirs, but being an important weapon in the struggle for existence, it would be perfected by selection in successive generations. With the acquisition of articulate speech would come a great advance in clearness of thought, facilitating the formation of abstract ideas.³ While, therefore, the direct development of the brain would have a great influence on the early stages of human evolution, it need hardly be considered in dealing with the causes of social and ideological transformation. Nor need we consider the other biological characters of man, such as racial temperament, for these remain comparatively stationary, and while they may explain certain differences in distinct communities, they are powerless so far as changing their condition is concerned.

Seeing that the organic development of man cannot be held to account for social evolution, and ignoring the theory of supernatural guidance and interference, which at this late date in the science of history is entirely unsupported, and entirely superfluous in any sphere of investigation, it follows that it is to the external influences, the environmental factors, that we must turn in our quest for the main dynamic agent in the evolution of ideas, actions, and human society.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

² Savages and barbarians are capable of a far greater number of intellectual operations than they accomplish in their daily life. During hundreds of years the Europeans have transported from the coast of Africa into the colonies thousands of savage and barbarian Negroes, removed from civilised men by centuries of culture. Nevertheless at the end of a very short time they assimilated the crafts of civilisation. The Guarany of Paraguay, when the Jesuits undertook their education, were wandering naked in the forests, armed only with a wooden bow and a club, with no knowledge, except how to cultivate maize. Their intelligence was so rudimentary that they could not count beyond twenty, using their fingers and toes. Nevertheless the Jesuits made these savages skilful operatives, capable of difficult works—such as complicated organs, geographical spheres, paintings and decorated sculptures.—"Social and Philosophical Studies," by Paul Lafargue, pp. 75-76.

³ A complex train of thought can no more be carried on without the aid of words, whether spoken or silent, than a long calculation without the use of figures or algebra. It appears, also, that even an ordinary train of thought almost requires, or is greatly facilitated by, some form of language, for the dumb, deaf, and blind girl, Laura Bridgman, was observed to use her fingers whilst dreaming.—"Descent of Man," Darwin, p. 134.

IN A TIME OF WAR.

If at this time of brute force paramount, When death itself is made the creed of men; When love is held of small or no account, And beauty scorned alike of voice and pen; There yet should be, hidden amid the crowd, Some finer spirits, shrinking and alone, Who hear the voice of Wisdom cry aloud Before Life's temples, stricken, overthrown; Now should they lift above the noise and strife Their song of hope, of confidence supreme In love and beauty; now indeed should scan The wide horizon of a boundless life, Wherein the poet's song, the dreamer's dream Shall stem the mad brutality of man.

F. J. WEBB.

NATIONAL GUILDS. Continued from p. 43.

truth of the remark, will have no alternative but to change places, when, of course, we shall all be capitalists in the gilded utopia of the "League," where "The unit of production is the factory," not the individual. He, or she, will still be a hand and still submerged and a slave to the tools he uses.

"The guild is a trading body. . . . The State will own the means of production, the guild will manage production. As owner, the State will impose on each guild such a charge as it can bear, tax, rent, royalty, or whatever you may call it. . . . Taxation, prices, and such questions to be fixed by a joint authority, representing both producers and consumers. . . . Just as all consumers are linked up in the great national body, the State, so all the producers will need to be linked up in their great national body. . . . The consumer needs to be assured of securing the commodities and services he requires at a fair price."

All this only proves how much the writers are in love with capitalism. The shoddy ideals of a mercenary age appeal to their bourgeois minds. It is no wonder that they fail to understand Socialism; they have never yet understood capitalism or they would not plead for the perpetuation of the hideous machinery of exchange that can only exist in society when wealth is individually or class owned.

F. F.

OUR CASE IN BRIEF

We have seen how the whole structure of present-day, or any other society, rests upon and takes its shape from the property base; and now we can proceed to consider what, broadly, must be the result of the carrying out of the Socialist proposal to change the social basis from private ownership of the means necessary to satisfy the economic needs of the community to one in which these things are owned and controlled by the whole of the people.

The first and most important effect must be to abolish class distinctions. Just as, when the means of gaining a livelihood had only reached such a stage that common ownership in the land was the only form of ownership that was useful to either the community or the individual, and therefore the only form that was possible in the circumstances (i.e., when the chase offered the highest reward to human productive activity), there were no class divisions, so in the society arising from the new social base there could be no classes. Where property is owned by some only of the people, those who own are marked off from those who do not; they are a class apart, and their interests are to try their utmost to maintain and increase the advantage which their property gives them over the propertyless. In the nature of things, these endeavours are more effective if carried out collectively, hence they harden into class effort to support class interests.

But when all those things necessary for the well-being of the community cease to belong to individuals, but are owned as a single undivided instrument of production and distribution by the whole people as an organic unit, none are possessors and none have any advantage over others. Since all are in the same situation, all have the same interest, namely, to make the means of gaining the common livelihood serve with the utmost efficiency the common purpose. Society, therefore, so long rent by class divisions, founded upon unequal property conditions, at once loses its class nature with the abolition of private property, and being classless, there can be no class interests. The putting of all men and women on the same economic plane reconciles their interests, and just as those with the same interests under the class system combined to strive for the class interest, so the whole of society, having been made one by their unified interests, will combine to further the common interest. The old and bitter struggles between sections of the community, which Socialists know as class struggles, will then be known no more.

As a corollary of this abolition of economic inequality, or rather as a part of it, the wage-labour system will come to an end—that is to say, men will cease to work for wages. To-day men work for wages because they do not get an opportunity of working directly for themselves.

All the instruments of labour, all the raw materials, all means by which alone men and women can gain their livelihood, are in the hands and under the control of comparatively few of the people, hence the others have no opportunity of gaining a livelihood save by placing themselves at the disposal of the possessors of the things above enumerated. It is safe to say that were there opportunity for each man and woman to work directly for himself or herself, enjoying the entire fruits of his or her labour, and without coming under the disability of uneconomic returns which must almost always accompany individual effort nowadays—if men and women could do this, I repeat, it is safe to say that none would be so foolish as to sell their labour-power to others, whose only possible object in buying it could be to make a profit out of it, that is, to give for it less than it could produce.

It is, of course, utterly impossible for such opportunity to be afforded to the individual. The very corner-stone of that development of the means of production which has resulted in such vastly increased fertility of human productive effort, is division of labour. Division of labour necessarily means also associated or social labour. The very moment we try to introduce individual labour to production generally the whole vast system of machinery comes to a standstill. Thus a dozen or so men with a modern threshing machine, can thresh corn at a tremendous pace. But if each is to be able to say "I have threshed this corn," then they must abandon their associated labour. The engine driver must leave his engine, the pitchers must leave the stack, the sack-shifters must leave the delivery spouts, and the boy who fetches the beer must leave his social and sociable occupation, and each must take up the flail and flog.

The flail was an instrument of individual labour; the threshing-machine is an instrument of social labour. The first shows individual results, the second shows social results. The individual instrument does not afford scope for any advanced form of associated effort—a dozen men cannot use it at one time; the social-labour instrument cannot be operated by individual labour—one man cannot run a threshing machine by himself.

When, therefore, the private ownership of the means of living is abolished, men and women will cease to sell their labour-power for wages because the opportunity of obtaining their living without such sale will be opened up to them. But they will not be able to set about production each in his own way and each on his own hook. Man is largely what his means of living make him. His means of living having developed to that stage where they can only be operated by associated labour, man must remain an associated labourer, even though he cease to be a wage labourer.

And now mark how all these things hang together. The same development of the means of production which has made them impossible of individual operation, has made them also impossible of being owned by the individuals who operate them—that is to say, individually owned by those individuals. Just as the threshing machine cannot be operated by individual labour, so it cannot be owned separately by those who operate it. They might own it jointly, but for each to own and control a portion would put an end to its efficiency as an economical instrument of labour.

But the means of production and distribution have developed even beyond the stage where they could be owned and controlled by the actual groups operating them. Even the threshing machine is not a complete productive plant in itself; it needs an engine to drive it and to draw it about. In other industries, however, the instruments of production have developed a far wider interdependence. The water supply, for instance, upon which hundreds of great concerns in manufacturing districts depend, as also the gas and electricity supplies, show quite plainly how the means of production have developed into a vast system of machinery, which can only be efficiently owned and controlled as a whole and by the whole community.

These things, then, must shape the character of man as a producer. When he ceases to be a wage slave he must be a worker for the community. He surrenders his labour-power to the community instead of to a boss. A. E. J.

LLD. GEORGE AND THE CLYDE WORKERS.

The firm who machines this paper has refused to print the article which was set up to appear under the above heading. We are therefore compelled to withdraw the article. We congratulate the Government on the success of their efforts to preserve the "freedom of the Press."

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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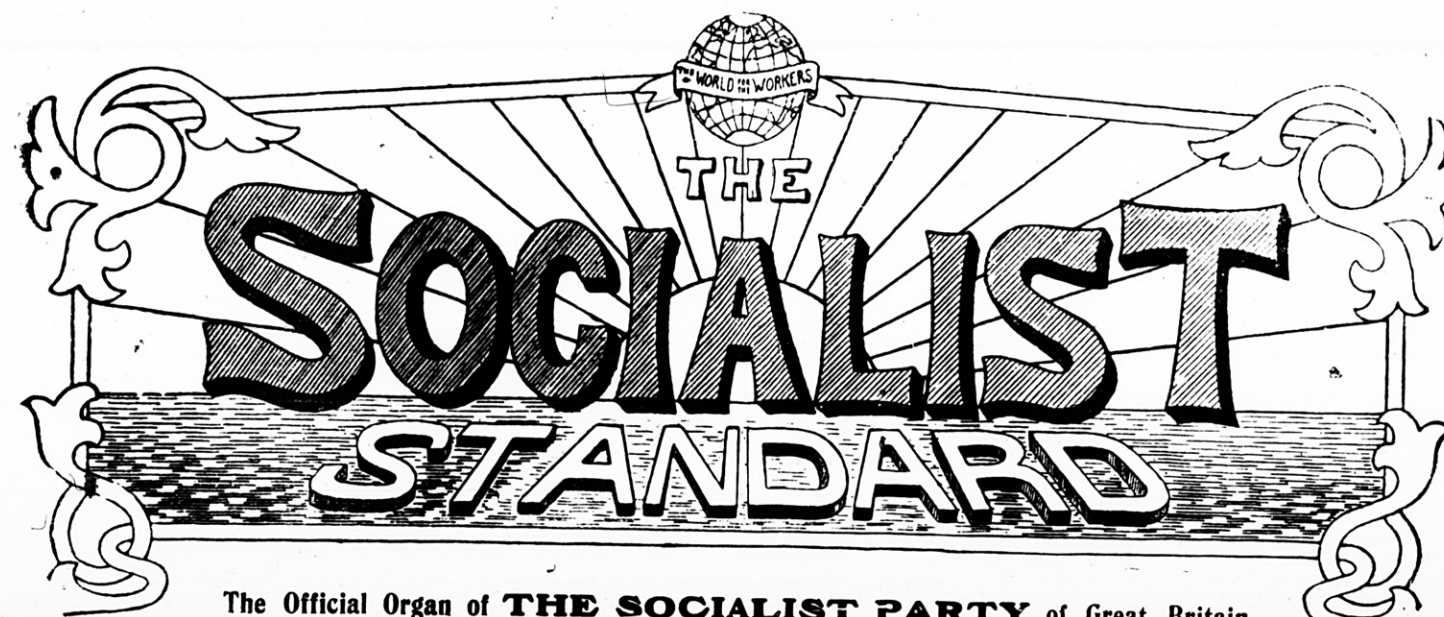
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No. 139. V. 12.]

LONDON, MARCH, 1916

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

C. B. STANTON PUTS MARX RIGHT.

A NEW TWISTER WITH OLD TWISTS.

Why have the Social Democrats of Germany offered no resistance to the war and German militarism is the repeated query of the British labour misleaders. They fail to see that the Social Democrats were not the only party, affiliated to the International, that had forgotten or violated the solemn pledges exchanged annually. Like automata they periodically passed resolutions confirming their adherence to the 'class war' without once understanding its import, or considering the possibility of a crisis that would test their allegiance. Their ignorance or insincerity is patent from the first days of the European war. The majority of labour leaders of every land forgot their affirmation of the class war in their concern for the triumph of 'their country.' We in England only read of the betrayal of principle by the German Social Democrats, in voting supplies in the Reichstag. The labour leaders who are strongest in their denunciation of this are the very men who have been most active on recruiting platforms, and have voted supplies here.

That many of the professed Socialists in every European country have taken up sides with their respective masters proves, not only their ignorance or insincerity but their similarity; proves what we have so often repeated, that the Social Democratic Party of Germany differs little from the Labour Party of England in its attitude towards capitalism.

The latest English 'Socialist!' to be boomed by the capitalist Press as a recruiting agent Mr. C. B. Stanton, is a sample of the British international pot calling the German international kettle black. 'I am a Socialist,' he says, 'and a member of the old red international.' 'The German Social Democratic Party, the immediate inheritors of the orthodox tradition, have in the majority of the cases, out-junkered the most extreme of junkers in their support of what they regard as their national policy.' He then tells the 'Daily Express' readers that he read of an American journalist who asked Kautsky 'why his party had done nothing to protest against the violation of Belgium—nothing to vindicate their revolutionary principles.' When Kautsky pleads the party's helplessness in the face of German militarism, Mr. Stanton taunts them with having 'slave souls.' His own servility to the English ruling-class, because it is voluntary, does not appear to him as a betrayal of the workers or as a lapse from his 'Socialist!' principles.

His excuse that there is 'very little class war in this country between aristocrat and manual worker' reminds us of the previous efforts of similar 'Socialists' to blur the line of class cleavage...notably of the British delegates to the Amsterdam International Congress who voted for a resolution 'extolling the tried and victorious policy based on the class war,' and on their return to England referred to the class

war as a 'shibboleth' and as a reactionary and whiggish precept, certain to lead the movement away from the real aims of Socialism.

Mr. Stanton, mounted on an intellectual pedestal, graciously calls attention to the genius of Marx. 'Let me pause here to comment on the folly and the short-sightedness of the orthodox schools of economy in this country in attempting to ignore Marx's work. Right or wrong, or, rather, partly right and partly wrong, intellectually he was a commanding genius and I deny that any man to-day can assume to be an authority on, or even a serious student of, political economy who has not read him and understood him.' This brilliant thinker and imitator of Robert Blatchford then proceeds to put Marx right. 'His slogan, Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a World to Win,' is a 'false slogan.' 'A very large proportion of the organised workers have a great deal to lose, individually and collectively.' They might lose their leaders, eh, Mr. Stanton? the leaders who have so carefully guarded their collective funds in the past, advising, or ordering them to return to their work just as a strike was on the point of succeeding. Without such leaders they might even be persuaded to think for themselves and, woe unto Stanton and his tribe, they might think their 'trade union and coffin club funds' mere dust in the balance compared to the World and its wealth they would win through Socialism.

Where Marx again went wrong—and we have to bear in mind that it is 'a Socialist and a member of the old red international' that points the error—'was that he ignored the sense of nation-hood. Hence his amazing edifice of economic theory collapsed like a house of cards at the first signal of international war.' Of course, the wish is father to the thought; how easy it would make things for Mr. Stanton and all his kidney, how trivial the sacrifice entailed in forty European wars, in the eyes of 'King Capital,' if only the works of Marx and Engels and the whole Socialist philosophy would fall to pieces as a result. But not so; the thing that collapsed was an international gang of labour decoys and social reformers, who only passed resolutions based on the class war, and fired off revolutionary phrases to capture those on the threshold of Socialist knowledge and lead them blindfold into the camp of one capitalist party or other.

The Labour Party in England, the Social Democrats of Germany, the Syndicalists of France, and the Communists of Russia were as a whole never class-conscious or revolutionary; consequently the capitalist war splashed and scattered their international froth backwards over the very boundaries they had sworn to ignore—that is all. 'Das Capital,' with its scientific analysis and philosophy still remains, for some future International, representing in

the truest sense the workers of the world; who will be responsible for the International because they understand the philosophy.

No doubt it appears strange to the readers of the 'Daily Express' that 'a member of the old Red International' when attacking Socialism should choose the wildest and most fallacious of anti-Socialist arguments, and arguments that have been exposed time and time again. But that only proves the impregnability of Socialism and the poverty of capitalist philosophy. The defenders of capitalism, from Malthus to Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald, have racked their brains incessantly for a philosophic armour that would resist the penetrating logic of the Socialist.

The class war is the greatest bugbear of all, and every issue of recent years that has been raised by capitalist parties—not even excepting the European war—has lamentably failed to hinder the growth of class-consciousness among the workers. Mr. Stanton knows this and would like to be able to prove that such growth is negligible and evanescent. He can do nothing, however, but reiterate the already exploded arguments of the Anti-Socialist Union.

It might be supposed that a straight line could be drawn right through the social order, dividing the capitalist wolves from the labour sheep. Is this so? Surely not. The social organism is not so simple. The same individual in innumerable cases is both exploiter and exploited. He may work for a wage in the morning and himself be an employer of labour and the recipient of 'surplus value' in the afternoon. From Monday to Saturday he may be a toiling wage-slave, yet all the time through his co-operative society, or from some other source, he may be, and frequently is, the thoughtless, if thrifty, recipient of rent and interest.

Of course, we know equally with Mr. Stanton that there are some managers who are likewise shareholders, and some capitalists who work themselves, or direct—themselves chiefly into the bankruptcy court, by the way—but their number is exceeding small in comparison with the vast army of wage-slaves living in perpetual poverty that constitutes the working class. The wealth they own is as a drop in the ocean compared with the wealth and means of wealth production owned by the capitalist class proper. From either point of view these intermediaries are a negligible quantity, as likewise is the twopence half-penny in the pound that the co-operative customer gets as interest (!) or discount. Science in its generalisations ignores negligible quantities, and the Socialist contention that society is divided into two classes is just as true as the biological generalisation that the 'organic world is made up of animal and vegetable forms of life; though some forms partake of the properties and functions of both, leaving it impossible to say whether they are animal or vegetable. They occupy the dividing line and on each side are the two great kingdoms.' So with

capitalist society; the existence of petty capitalists and working-men here and there who have a few pounds in the bank or a tumble-down tenement in a slum, does not upset the great generalisation, but rather strengthens it, for they occupy the dividing line.

These objections to Socialism by a "member of the old Red International" are numerous. Their exposure might be extended, but sufficient has been said to prove that not even a renegade Socialist can put up any better fight than the regular army of capitalist champions that for half a century has writhed under the scathing indictment of Marx and Engels and the rest of those real internationalists who have borne the red flag since their day. For a time Socialist propaganda is forced, as it were, partly underground; yet still it bears fruit, as many a labour leader could testify from personal experience—if such admission did not impugn his own efficacy and break the slumbers of the class that employs him as a watch-dog.

Mere denunciations of class hatred by labour leaders and other capitalist defenders, are just as futile and silly as exhibitions of class hatred by Socialists would be. Antagonism of classes is inherent in capitalism because it is a system based on the ownership by the capitalist class of the means of life and the consequent enslavement of the dispossessed working class, which duces all wealth by endless toil in field, factory and mine, yet suffers life-long poverty and degradation.

F. F.

HISTORY AS A SCIENCE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

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II. The Materialist Foundations of History—Continued.

How far does the natural environment which is the very condition of human existence effect the course of history? Under the term "natural environment" we may include the geographical, climatic, zoological, botanical, and extra terrestrial or astronomical conditions. The ideas of a community undoubtedly are influenced to a large degree by the natural conditions in which they live, and the different ideas and institutions of various societies can often be traced to distinct geographical, climatic, and other natural conditions of their environment. It is, then, a factor for consideration when tracing out the history of any society, but nevertheless it cannot be claimed that, as a rule that is, the natural or physical environment is a main factor in the changes which such a society may undergo.

The reason for this is readily seen when it is remembered how slow compared with human history is the process of development in the natural world. While varying, therefore, in different localities, it is, generally speaking, comparatively static, except over immense periods of time. Exceptions there are, however, and where these occur the changed natural conditions effect a change in the ideas, activities, and development of the peoples which they influence. Migrations also, such as are habitual at certain stages of social evolution, bring the societies where they occur, into fresh physical surroundings, causing corresponding changes in their character. Thus we see the limitations of the natural environment as a force for social change.

In addition to his natural surroundings, man also has a self-made or artificial environment, made by transforming material provided by nature, into things of utility to him. This capacity for production is no monopoly of man's, but exists in his humbler animal relatives, in the creation of nests, etc. What, however, is characteristic of man, and man alone, is the creation of tools or weapons, to be used for further production or appropriation, and for defence and attack. The use of tools by man is as though he had bodily organs which he can change at will, as they are desired for different uses. Moreover, while organs are limited in number, variety and power by the bodily structure, the diversity and force of application of tools is increased with fresh inventions and discoveries. In addition to tools and weapons in the strict sense of the words, man continually discovers or invents

other new and improved means of ministering to his wants, which can be included with tools, etc., under the term, "technical development." The "technical development" covers all adaptations of natural phenomena, either by change of form or of position, to meet the needs of man. Thus the taming of fire, domestication of animals and plants, writing and printing, and the usage of natural forces—all form part of the technique.

Every advance in technique brings with it conditions making possible and desirable further discoveries and inventions, thus giving rise to a continuous technical progress. For instance, the use of fire, probably at first only a means for promoting warmth, made possible the cooking of food, leading to an increase in the articles of diet. Fish, for instance, now becomes usable as a regular food. The banks of rivers and sea coasts would now become favourable habitats, leading to the making of primitive canoes by hollowing out logs by means of fire and stone scrapers, and to a wider distribution of man by his gradually following the water-side, thus in course of time spreading over almost the entire land surfaces of the globe.

Although inventions and discoveries are probably in the main made accidentally, yet the conditions for a discovery must have been prepared by previous advances leading up to it. Nevertheless it is possible for a discovery to be effected before the conditions exist which will make it useful. An illustration of this is the fact that when Hero of Alexandria invented a steam engine in the second century B.C., the conditions were unripe to assure its general utility, and in consequence Hero was looked upon as a crank who had brought out a useless toy. But when, with the rise of machine production in the eighteenth century A.D., the need for some greater power than the wind or the running stream was felt, the steam engine, improved by Watt from the inventions of his immediate predecessors, after having practically retired into oblivion for about nineteen hundred years, was eagerly seized upon and rapidly spread to all the main branches of industry.

The technical development not only forms material for the rise of fresh concepts, but ideas also arise from the manner of its use, and the new conditions and relations which inevitably flow from its use, which also often extends man's knowledge of his natural environment. His experience of the use of artificial means of production gives man fresh means of satisfying his desires, and by changing his mode of life gives rise to new wants. The more complex becomes the technique, the greater grows the number of intermediate stages, of aims, motives, and actions necessary to satisfy his ultimate needs and the longer, consequently, the circuit of ideas or train of thought to which these needs give rise. For instance, to enable a hunter to satisfy his physical requirements, it suffices for there to exist an abundance of game and water, and a cave or means of constructing a hut. The process of killing, preparing and cooking his food, and the train of thoughts associated with it are comparatively simple. On the other hand, the first care of a modern wage-worker is to be employed by a capitalist or company, and in order to secure this a round-about process of consulting advertisements or labour-exchanges may have to be resorted to. Even then, after working for a week or a month, what he receives is not means of consumption, but money, which, in order to satisfy his wants, he must exchange in various stores and markets for the means of ministering to his requirements.

Here, then, in the progressive development of man's artificial means and instruments of production and other necessary functions, we have a potent source of change and growth in ideas. It must, however, constantly be borne in mind that all these factors which we have considered are simultaneously at work in a greater or less degree. The multitudinous variety of phenomena giving rise to concepts; the various motives, near and more remote; the passing of ideas from one individual to another, and from one society to another; the inheritance of the ideas of the past; and lastly but above all, the fact that all these concepts form the most intricate and often fantastic combinations, and are all more or less capable of being reduced to abstractions, are all factors combining to make the ideas of man appear as a vast chaotic mass.

It is, indeed, not to be wondered at that for centuries human ideas were believed to be the manifestations of an immortal, non-material soul, and that the majority of attempts failed to elucidate the mystery of their origin. Nevertheless the keenest mind, the most acute thinker, cannot originate a conception which does not correspond in its basis to some phase of the sense perceptible world either of his own day or in the past experience of man.

III. The Course of History.

We now come to the second portion of our task. Having seen how the ideas of the individual arise and change, it now remains to consider how the individual's ideas, or at least those which are translated into actions, result in that panorama of change, in the rise, progress and fall of successive forms of society, in the social and inter-social struggles, and in the progress in art, science, philosophy, literature, etc., which history has to show.

The use of a certain technique by a society necessitates a certain system of organisation within that community. As the complexity of the technique increases by the continual introduction of fresh means of production, the division of labour between the members of society increases in like ratio. At first this division of labour is along lines of age or sex, as where the able males attend to the hunting and fighting while the women look after the household and family affairs. To this is added when agriculture arises, the division into tool makers and repairers, and workers in the field, which is in rudiment that between the handicraft workers and the peasantry, between the town and the country. Society, therefore, with the development of the technique takes on more and more the character of a complex organism, with distinct parts or organs, each performing separate functions and co-operating in the upkeep of the whole social body. The social division of labour depends not upon the technical development alone, but also is influenced greatly by the natural environment and also by the character of the external social environment or neighbouring communities. An instance of this latter is where an agricultural society is threatened by predatory hostile tribes, thus giving rise to the necessity of a section of society being trained in the use of arms as a means of defence. One effect of a division of labour in society is that now the individual ceases to be self-sufficing as regards production, but becomes more and more dependent upon the rest of society and so much the more helpless outside of it. We saw previously that with increased complexity of technique man's wants, and consequently his motives for action, increase also; now we see that by the same process he becomes more dependent upon the members of society as a whole for the satisfaction of these wants.

So long as the productive powers of society remain primitive, so that there is no considerable surplus of products over that needed to sustain the producers and those incapable of production by age, etc., just so long will all or nearly all those members capable of production be thus, necessarily, engaged. Even where a small surplus is available in times of plenty, it only serves to carry the community over the hard times of famine. When, however, in consequence of improved technique or of more fertile natural conditions, production becomes greater and more regular, a change occurs. A surplus of wealth now becomes permanent. Although this may result for a time in increased security and comfort for the producers, nevertheless the conditions now exist whereby a certain faction or profession under favourable circumstances can obtain a share of the social wealth greater than that allotted to the rest of society, and in time may aspire to, and actually secure the permanent appropriation of the surplus. Accumulation of considerable preponderance of wealth in the hands of individuals of certain groups, becomes a factor in the social life hitherto absent. The same progress in productivity also makes possible slavery, or the forced subjection of a class to perpetual labour for the benefit of another class or the rest of society.

We see, then, that the progress of the technique up to a certain point, makes possible, and

under certain circumstances brings a change in the social relations of the members of society. From being, with the primitive technique, an association of free and equal producers, co-operating in their several spheres to the general support of the whole social body, and sharing equally in the combined produce, it becomes with improved productivity a society of rich and poor, freemen and slaves, producers and non-producers. Examined closely, this transformation of the social relations is seen to be the result of a change in the conditions of property. Whilst formerly private appropriation was limited in amount, often temporary and always conditioned by personal use, indeed "rude weapons, fabrics, utensils, implements of flints, stone and bone, and personal ornaments represent the chief items of property in savage life." At a later period the prime sources of wealth, herds, slaves, and later land, which were previously collectively owned or at least controlled by the community, are held as individual property. Once private property becomes firmly established its further extension either automatically, or artificially by open pillage is only a matter of time and opportunity. Thus the old communal life is slowly but surely broken up. The edge of the wedge of private property finds a lodgement in the crannies of the old system, and as it is thrust inwards, under the blows, at first feeble and slow, but soon raining thick and fast, of economic evolution, the gentile system, ages old, reared upon kinship and communism, is split asunder, and upon its ruins rises a society having as its very base economic and social inequality.

How does this new state of affairs affect the psychology of society? First let us see the influence of the ideas of the individual upon the general course of society. As we have seen, the ultimate motives and main impulses for action can be classified under two chief heads, those to meet the desires or serve the needs of the individuals, and those for the social good. In a society where all are socially equal these two motives to a large extent coincide. By working for society's welfare the individual at the same time promotes his own. When society, however, divides into classes these two impulses to action become more or less opposed. In the former stage where there are no social divisions other than those of a purely natural character (such as age, sex, etc.) and in which common property predominates over private property, the common interests of the members of society greatly outweigh any incidental individual interest of a member thereof. The contrary is the case, however, in class-divided societies, with the class distinctions based upon ownership, or lack of, property of various kinds. Here private property overrules common property, and the interests of a member coincide for the most part with that of the class to which he belongs, and it is often antagonistic to that of the other classes of the community. The slave who seeks to support society and to maintain its stability fastens still firmer his shackles, but when he seeks to promote his own welfare or that of his class he threatens the social structure which rises above him.

Now although the ultimate motives can be classified into a few divisions, the immediate needs leading up to the satisfaction of these essential wants and desires, and the ideas underlying the actions which fulfill these immediate needs are multifarious and complex and become more so as the technical conditions advance. Moreover, the minor activities of individuals often conflict and nullify one another. Also through lack of foresight or unforeseen circumstances the end aimed at is very often not accomplished, "the ends of the actions are intended, but the results which follow from the actions are not intended, or in so far as they appear to correspond with the end desired, in their final results are quite different from the conclusions wished."

It is not, however, the isolated actions and ideas of individuals which influence history greatly, but those common to greater or less social groups. In fact it might almost be stated as an axiom that the influence of a given idea on society varies in like ratio to the proportionate size of the section of society which holds to

¹ "Ancient Society," p. 537, L. H. Morgan, L.L.D.
² Feuerbach (p. 104) by Frederick Engels.

or supports it. Now, although the ultimate needs of all members of society, such as the necessity for sustenance, and the general desire for well-being are identical, yet by reason of the division of labour their means of satisfying them and as a consequence the immediate needs of the different social grades are varied. When these grades, originally free and equal, evolve into unequal classes these immediate needs and motives, as we have seen, become antagonistic. Therefore, while the individuals even of the same class might have divergent opinions upon a large number of topics, yet they can all unite in adopting a certain viewpoint and mode of action regarding subjects which touch upon their class welfare and interests and, consequently, their prime individual ones. It would therefore appear that the class numerically the strongest would always dominate society in accordance with the interests of that class. But the matter is by no means so simple as this for reasons which will now be made plain.

In the first place, with the rise of antagonistic classes a factor makes its appearance having a most potent effect upon the future development of society. Under the old system of social equality such as exists to-day in all savage and most barbarian peoples, there was no incentive to act in a manner contrary to the welfare of the social whole. As a consequence there existed no necessity for a stronger regulating factor to secure social harmony than custom and public opinion. This state of affairs vanishes when, with economic development, classes having antagonistic interests appear. Society now exists in a condition of unstable equilibrium, liable to internal risings and disruptions whenever the class interests of the less favoured sections manifest themselves too openly. An addition to custom and public opinion, a further and stronger regulator of social order becomes essential. A public power of coercion appears. The social forces of offence to, and defence from, external foes are converted into, or supplanted by, a force destined mainly to maintain order inside the community, to suppress class antagonisms, thus establishing apparent stability in the system. What was custom now becomes law; in other words, the State now appears for the first time. Nominally impartial and standing exalted above the general social structure, the State must necessarily support the ascendancy of the favoured class in the community, who, indeed, become more or less openly the controllers of it. This class dominating society by reason of the political control, moulds the existing institutions and creates new ones in accordance with its own ideas, so that the social system comes to reflect in all its ramifications the interests of the class which rules it.

R. W. HOUSLEY.
(TO BE CONTINUED.)

KING CAPITAL'S CIVILISATION.

Here in America the machine shops are running night and day, seven days a week, making guns and shells for the mighty work of Civilisation. In the great steel works named after the meek and lowly Nazarene, the "Bethlehem" Steel Plant, they are verily beating ploughshares into swords. They are assiduously making munitions for the Allies to show that Capital—American Capital—is not neutral when there is a chance of making profits.

Ships leave these ports every day loaded to the full with instruments of death. Other ships leave here loaded with hospital supplies to repair the civilising influence of American shells. Still more ships leave with food for Poland, when American guns have driven the Poles starving and homeless into the wilderness.

This is civilisation! Socialism will break up the home, destroy the family, rob parents of their children. So sang the war lords just a little while ago. Did Socialism desecrate the homes of Belgium, of Serbia, of German South-West Africa? Did Socialism destroy family life in the blackened towns and villages of war-torn Europe and Asia? Ask the mothers and fathers of a dozen nations mourning their slaughtered

boys if it is Socialism that has robbed them of their sons.

Workers of every country and of all races are making munitions here for the Allies. At one machine is a German, at another an Austrian, at a third a Pole from Russian Poland. So great is their need for work. And as they pass out of the factory gate one sees them asked to give to the Red Cross and the War Sufferers Relief Fund. One day it is a fund for Poland, another day for Serbia, and still another day for the Jewish victims of the war. They give their pence and once more hurry on with the work of making guns—and more war sufferers. And in Congress President and politicians are talking of building a huge navy and providing a large army in case of attack by those who win this war.

War loan after war loan is being floated here first by one country then by another. And they are eagerly taken up by the American lovers of peace—and pieces; for war loans bear heavy interest. Soon, maybe, they will promote an American war loan, and the same financiers will buy that: it all brings grist to the mill—and death to the milliner.

Wonderfully varied are the pleas used to entice men into the different armies. In England it is "King and Country," in Russia the "Little White Father," in Germany "Emperor and Fatherland," and in Turkey it is "For Allah." Here in the towns on the American side of the Canadian Border they appeal to all Americans who want a change and "love adventure," to join up in the Canadian Army.

Notices to American immigration authorities have recently appeared in the newspapers here to register the large numbers of young men who are flocking over the border to escape the call of the Motherland. They do not seem at all anxious to join, and many Canadian papers such as "John Canuck" (the Canadian "John Bull") bitterly denounce the French Canadians for their hostility to the war, while Members of Parliament from Lower Canada are attacked for their treachery to "Canada and the Empire."

One of the most striking facts showing how artificial is this clash of races is the life of the same races resident in America. Here German and French, Austrian and Italian, Turk and Greek, and men and women of all the belligerent countries, work together in harmony and friendship. The only friction is that which exists even among true-born Americans—the friction between workers and employers, which goes on all the time, independent of colour, race or creed.

Whilst their brothers are killing each other in Europe at the order of those who rule, they remain quite diffident and watch the struggle as though it were on the stage. A change of place leads men and women coming here from Europe to realise more than anywhere else in the world what shibboleths racial and national differences can become, for here the exploiters are of every race, and the toilers live in poverty, no matter what language they speak.

American war correspondents from the German and Turkish lines have been telling the horrible and gruesome story of what war really is. And the scenes depicted by them almost outdo those of any other war in history, not even excluding the horrors of Sedan and the fearful massacres of the Russo-Japanese War. Picture shows are busy showing the German official pictures, and they are a confession of the terrible sufferings of the German soldiery. Imagine a picture of a long line of men on a railway platform who have had their legs blown off, being taught how to walk by doctors, and you can guess what Capitalism has reduced Civilisation to.

This is not the last war, as they say in England it is. America is ravaged with war fever, and a great campaign is being waged on "Preparedness." Leading politicians and others are

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asks, "how can we get Him to come down on our side and give us a mighty victory?"

Much smaller bugs than bishops are may be permitted to offer suggestions on a subject of such universal interest as getting God to come down off his perch. An old bird-catcher whom I consulted on the off-chance declared "if yer can't call him down yer must feed him down, and if yer can't feed him down yer must call him down, and if yer can't neither feed him down nor call him down ye'd better try a 'en angel, and if that aint no good why yer won't never take him up to Club Row."

But we may reject that advice with scorn. Obviously the first step is to get ourselves clean. "We must cleanse England," says the bishop, and he is right. Let's wash our shirts and our shifts; let's scrape ourselves, pumice-stone ourselves, boil ourselves if necessary. Let's co-operate for the job—my Lord Bishop, you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours: I'm ready for any

dirty job so long as we get the muck off. Then, when we have got through with that we might pursue the course which has proved so efficacious in the past. We might plaster the fence whereon God is sitting with such announcements as "Your King and Country Need You"; "Isn't This Worth Fighting For?" "What Did You Do, Daddy?" "Go! Don't be Pushed!" "I wasn't among the first to go, but I went, thank God, I went." And if this was followed up by a visit from the recruiting sergeant, or, to stretch a point in view of the greatness of the occasion, from Lord Derby himself, murmuring the magic "What about it?" we should surely "get God out of this dilemma," and "get him down on our side" (as the bishop "reverently" and gracefully put it)—unless the irreverent but far-sighted Germans have taken the precaution to lime His perch, in which case, perish me pink, there is a dilemma indeed.

BILL BAILEY.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

A NEO-MALTHUSIAN FABLE.

It seems strange at a time when proletarians are being butchered by millions, to find Neo-malthusians still advocating the reduction of the population as the cure for all social ills; yet such is the case. In a booklet* recently published in English it is roundly asserted that the limitation of births "means simply the suppression of misery, the solution of the social question." Simply that!

Socialists are in no way opposed to the diffusion of complete scientific knowledge in sexual matters: they fully recognise the right of men and women to limit the number of their offspring on grounds of personal health and comfort. Neo-malthusians, in fact, have a wide field for useful activity, but their ambitions outstrip their means. They offer a check-penny for the earthquake!

The matter will repay a moment's thought; but let us first take our medicine like men by quoting the passages bearing on this point.

The initial cause of pauperism and the evils which follow it (prostitution, alcoholism, premature death, degeneration, war, etc.) is not the result of the unequal division of wealth but of the insufficiency of produce, the constant absence of an equilibrium between the population and the means of subsistence, the constant contradiction between human fecundity even when attenuated by the wisdom of a few, and the production of the soil even when amplified by scientific culture, and the opposition between hunger and love.

In short, it is not true to-day that there is enough bread for all. However paradoxical it may appear it is because there never has been enough of primordial products to satisfy everybody with an equal share that some have too much. That is what the Malthusian doctrine says and demonstrates.

There will no longer be a proletariat or any misery when procreative prudence will have penetrated every home, and the want of sexual forethought of some will not annul the happy effects brought about by others, when all couples will know how to avoid conception and, when those children really wanted and desired will be born in numbers wisely limited to the family and social resources under the best conditions of heredity, education and environment.

There are no other means whatever to bring about the amelioration of material conditions and therefore intellectual and moral perfection. (Pages 17-19 *ibid.*)

Even if it were true that there be not sufficient bread for all it would hardly follow that the remedy is to decrease the number of producers, since each average producer is variously estimated to produce up to eight times the equivalent of his keep. Such a "remedy" would be an intensification of the supposed inadequacy of the food supply. But the assertion is a ludicrous perversion of the truth. The average modern worker produces many times more wealth than did his predecessor of a century ago. In fact, the power to produce increases much faster than the population. This is incontestable. It is admitted by every competent economist and statistician. And if a title of the labour now spent in producing senseless luxuries for the idle rich were devoted to the production of the prime necessities of life, there would be a su-

perabundance for a much larger population than is likely to exist for many years to come. Consequently Neo-malthusianism goes to pieces on the bed-rock fact of labour's productivity.

The present war has demonstrated the truth of this; it has shown how very few workers are required to produce the necessities of the whole population, and what an immense proportion of the available labour can yet be thrown away in the making and working of an overwhelming mass of instruments of slaughter.

It therefore follows inevitably that if workers lack the means of comfort the actual cause cannot possibly be that there are too many producers. Obviously the cause must be sought in the social conditions which waste and divert to a few the results of man's super-productivity.

The essential facts are very simple. The land and productive instruments are owned and exploited by a comparatively small number of persons. The workers, therefore, can only obtain a livelihood as the beasts of burden, the hirelings, of these capitalists. It further follows that the more of the good things of life the workers can make the fewer labourers need the exploiters hire. It is therefore not lack of necessities, but the worker's ability to produce more than is in demand, that enables the capitalists to create that powerful means of keeping the workers poor, the unemployed.

The poverty that afflicts the working class is thus obviously not due to any impossibility of producing sufficient, since it is consequent upon the very opposite! And the seeming excess population that is the Malthusian stalking horse is by the same fact shown to be an artificial product. It is an effect of class ownership in the means of life. Yet Neo-malthusians, with pitiful short-sightedness, take this effect for the cause!

How entirely an effect of a baneful social system is this artificial redundancy of population that is raved about is readily seen in the matter of machinery. "Labour-saving" devices and automatic machinery enable an ever-greater proportion of goods of all kinds to be produced with less labour. Under capitalist ownership the machines progressively displace wage-workers, making more and more of them superfluous. No probable reduction in population could keep pace with this increasing displacement.

Now, is the remedy to smash the machines? Obviously not. Yet such a thing is more logical and reasonable than the Malthusian cure for poverty. It is, in fact, the true application of their form of argument. The Socialist is saved from such absurdity. He knows they are not the prime cause of working-class poverty and redundancy. The cause is the manner in which they are owned and used. The question is a politico-economic one, and no Neo-malthusian appliance will touch it.

The war is again a case in point. Throughout Europe millions of workers are being annihilated, and if there were any truth in the Malthusian argument, this reduction of the population should solve the social problem; but does

anyone outside of Colney Hatch believe that it will? Is not organisation and machinery making wage-workers redundant at an even faster rate? Clearly! And after this war the workers will be face to face with the social problem in its most acute form.

France has long been the happy hunting-ground of Neo-malthusians. Economic conditions have facilitated their propaganda in that country. It has long been the classic land of fewer births. Yet did the working population of France increase in prosperity compared with the teeming and increasing millions beyond the Rhine? Not at all! The exact contrary is what occurred. The extravagant claims of the Neo-malthusians cause them to leap from folly to folly. In one breath they state that population always tends to exceed the food supply, and in the next they say the exact opposite. Thus Mr. Hardy shows that those sections of society who are most comfortably off and have the most food, have the smallest families, while the poorest, who have least food, have the largest number of children. In other words, the more food the fewer children! It is amusing to find them unable to see their inconsistency.

The so-called Malthusian Law of Population is, indeed, a misstatement. Among civilised humans, though the sparsity of offspring among the well-to-do, and the plethora of children among the poor, is partly due to conscious effort, yet it is a physiological fact that it is not due to this cause to the extent popularly believed. It is not merely a matter of the atrophy due to luxury and in-breeding, for there is traceable a tendency for the procreative effort to increase with the kneeder struggle for existence, not vice versa. Even in the garden it is well known that plants put into rich soil run to leaf and set but little seed. In man, indeed, over-fatigue is known to be highly stimulating to the sexual impulse. On the basis of the struggle for existence itself, such a tendency is to be expected. In the history of each species those varieties would stand the best chance of survival which met periods of intense struggle and threatened extinction with the greatest procreative effort. Those varieties which propagated least under such conditions would become extinct. Thus there would become hereditary in most species a tendency to propagate most under conditions of stress, a tendency due to the natural selection of ancestral varieties with that tendency, which successfully emerged from the innumerable periods of threatened extinction through which each must have passed.

Such an inherited tendency, which explains many facts in natural history, must profoundly modify the so-called law of population.

But even so far as conscious preventives of birth among human beings are concerned, the Neo-malthusians fail to touch the spot. As they tell us, the successful use of preventive checks requires knowledge, self-discipline, and persevering cleanliness of no mean order. Now this is precisely what is unattainable among the very poorest, which, as Malthusians say, it is really necessary to reach! Economic conditions bar the way. Consequently upon its own ground Neo-malthusianism fails. It tends to decrease that portion of the population that can well afford to rear children, much more than it does the more wretched and more prolific. The latter it scarcely touches. As always, the economic laws are at the back of population. In fact, as Marx has said:

every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population, historically valid within its limits alone. An abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them.

Concerning the rest of Mr. Hardy's book (which deals with the functions of the sexual organs and explains the various preventive checks that are usable) there is little to say. The economic idiocies of the book do not inspire confidence in the practical sections, with which the author is conceivably more qualified to deal. Nevertheless, having been compelled in the interests of truth to jump with both feet upon the theoretic portion, one feels inclined to be generous with regard to the rest. As far as a mere amateur can judge it appears to contain useful information. It may prove a boon to those about to marry—unless, of course, they go one better and adopt Punch's advice. F. C. W.

BY THE WAY.

A Difference!

In asking leave to introduce a Bill to make provision with respect to Military Service in connection with the present war, the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) stated that there were various grounds of exemption. To quote his own words, he said: "The second is, he has persons dependent upon him, who, if he were called for active military service, would not be able to maintain themselves in comfort or in decency at home."—Official Report, Vol. 77, No. 140, Col. 958.

During the Second Reading stage of the Bill Mr. Asquith sought means to justify the distinction that was made between married and unmarried men. Turning to ancient history he cited the time of Henry V., saying: "The manner in which he recruited his army is almost worth while reciting to the House. When the King started on his campaign, one of the most glorious of all British annals, what are the directions he gives to his Lord Derby? He says:—

Go 'cruit me Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that are so free;
No married man or widow's son,
No widow's curse shall go with me.

Then we read how the instructions were carried out, namely:—

They recruited Cheshire and Lancashire,
And Derby hills that are so free,
Tho' no married man or widow's son,
They recruited three thousand men and three.

—Official Report, Vol. 77, No. 144, Col. 1659.

Doubtless from the foregoing it is reasonable to assume that sufficient has been quoted to show certain concessions were contemplated by the Cabinet, and were further evidence necessary it could be obtained from a perusal of the whole discussion in the House as recorded in the Official Report, and finally in the Act itself. However, the next step takes one in the direction of the Tribunal, and there we see how Bumbleton interprets "our plighted word!"

I read that at the Penge Tribunal's first sitting "one of the 'widow's son' cases to which Mr. Asquith referred in one of his speeches came up."

A widow, the owner of a small laundry, said that she could not work it without the assistance of her son, for the profits were too small to allow the payment of wages to an outsider. . . . He not only collected and distributed the laundry with a cart, but he did more ironing than any two women. . . . The tribunal advised her to find someone else, and suspended the son's enlistment for three months.—"Reynolds's," 20.2.16.

This break-up of the family life which has been forecasted by anti-Socialists to take place with the advent of Socialism, is here and now entirely falsified. It is capitalism, with its various manifestations, that achieves this monstrous iniquity of making wives widows, children fatherless, and widows sonless!

One other short extract in this connection, and one which is even more harsh than the preceding.

At Southwark a clerk applied for exemption on the grounds that he was the "only child" of a "widowed and invalid mother." He said he contributed 10s. to her maintenance and a similar sum was received from a benevolent society. The tribunal granted postponement for a month, to enable the man to find someone to look after his mother.—"Daily Chronicle," 22.2.16.

Since the above was written I have come across a short editorial article in another capitalist paper which tends to confirm my opinion. It says:—

When Mr. Asquith quoted, in defence of Lord Derby's "single men first" policy, the line from the old ballad "No widow's curse shall rest on me," most people assumed that widow's sons, when they were their sole support, would be exempted. As a fact the Act leaves everything to the discretion of the Tribunals, and in many cases widow's sons are refused exemption.—"Star," 21.2.16.

Well-Paid Workers.

For several months we have been constantly informed that there never were such times as now for the "working classes." That wages—such high wages—were so greatly increased that

they almost proved a burden to the recipients, and that some of the more fortunate ones were even using £1 notes as pipe lights were among the tales that were told. At the same time as this supposed great accession of wealth came to the afore-said working "classes" we read of the increased sales of overweight margarine and notice also the usual crop of appeals for funds for soup and blanket tickets, etc., which, somehow, do not seem to fit in with the idea of this ever-increasing wealth which we are informed is finding its way into the pockets of the workers. After all, is it not obvious that with an increase of 40 per cent. in the cost of living, and money wages for the most part the same as they were in pre-war days, there is a general worsening of working-class conditions? Surely, it is high time our master's backs considered the advisability of awarding V.C.'s and Distinguished Conduct Medals to the wives of members of the working class for their strenuous efforts in endeavouring to spread the scanty wages over the entire week.

However, to get to the appeals for mops and pails to clear up the mess created by capitalism, I notice that the infant mortality rate is about 50 per cent. higher than at the corresponding period of last year.

In East London a movement has been initiated to save the lives of infants, and we are informed that: "Money is urgently needed. Who will help? Donations," etc. The appeal goes on to state: "The hope of the world lies with the children," and yet in the East-end, at 400 Old Ford Road, where a beautiful creche at the "Mothers' Arms" has risen from an old public house, with a baby clinic and a milk-house, we have to send out the messenger of mercy to care for such as these:—

Nine children; husband, labourer; baby ill for a long time; came in nursery home for treatment; much better; still wants care.

Husband's earnings 26s.; five children—youngest twins—one child been very ill with bronchitis and pneumonia; mother been trying to nurse both; one now in our nursery by doctor's orders, to give mother a rest. Mother having dinners and milk; tries hard to make both ends meet and make the best of everything.

Seven children; husband was a carman, but now a casual labourer, 26s.; baby been ill—in nursery for treatment.

Husband, casual labourer; four children; husband discharged from army, medically unfit, after two months' training; children no boots, etc. Bought some, and advised getting dinners from school.

So the list goes on; but sufficient has been quoted to show that this idea of the employing class with reference to the alleged increase in the wealth of, and the need for economy among, the workers, is a figment of bourgeois imagination. Economy, forsooth! Note the words: "Mother tries hard to make both ends meet"! One can imagine how their feelings are outraged when they read posters on the wall advising them to practice economy and "Invest your savings in War Loan"! Have our masters and their hirelings lost all sense of proportion? This interesting document winds up by informing us that:—

Since the war broke out we have spent over £1,000 in milk alone; succoured some 600 mothers and babies; given 70,000 meals at the cost price restaurants.

Such is the glorious heritage of the mass of the working class under a capitalist regime—born in poverty and a greater or lesser struggle against poverty onward to the grave—while those who perform no useful function in society are nursed in the lap of luxury and tire in the deadly monotony of their unceasing round of pleasure.

Married "Slackers."

After a campaign directed against the unmarried and consequently cheaper variety of recruits, which might aptly be described as the thin end of the wedge, we come to that of the young married men. In this connection I notice one section of the Press is now clamouring for the attestation of "young married men." All this agitation is to help the manhood of the country to "fight for liberty and freedom with the strength of free men." What a spectacle! With regard to this new campaign I observe from another quarter the following:

The well-engineered outcry against the "single slacker" is now being followed in the same quarters by attacks on "married slackers." By and-by the classes who have been deluded in turn by the conscriptionists will wake up.—"Star," 21.2.16.

I echo the words of this writer that the working class who have been deluded and cajoled will wake up and then turn and rend their historic enemy.

Runciman's Socialism.

At the Conference of organised labour addressed by various Cabinet Ministers a month or two since, I was greatly amused by the reference made by the Rt. Hon. W. Runciman to the part the Government had taken in introducing "Socialism." The fact that the labour frauds or fools let pass unchallenged his remarks about his interest in Socialism shows how ignorant they are on this subject. At this juncture I want to draw attention to the fact that both sugar and bread have now reached the maximum price since the war. This, quote the right hon. gent., is Socialism. Could stupidity further go? No wonder he said "I am always prepared to embark on Socialism on those terms."

Capitalism's Casualty List.

Owing to the world war many things are pushed on one side to give space and prominence to things in connection therewith. This, however, will not prevent me noting that:

In mines and quarries last year there were 1,338 workers killed, and of the injured 165,150 were disabled for more than seven days. . . . They are the more terrible when we reflect that, with reasonable precautions, they could be reduced by about 50 per cent.—"Reynolds's," 2.1.16.

A Grateful Country.

While for purposes of recruiting in the earlier days of the war there was much talk about better provision being made for "our heroes" broken in the war, later events have falsified these promises. Columns of cases of hardship are to be found in the Official Report of Parliamentary Debates. From the Press I will cull one quotation:

A case was reported this week where two heroes had found their way into the workhouse because they were unable to get any allowance from the War Office. It is this sort of thing that does a great deal of harm and in itself is entirely indefensible.—"Reynolds's," 13.2.16.

THE SCOUT.

KING CAPITAL'S CIVILISATION—Continued.

urging men to enlist and get ready for the coming fray. America has its Blatchfords in the alleged Socialist Party, like Charles Edward Russell and Meyer London. The latter, who represents the poverty-stricken East Side of New York in Congress, told the House that American Socialists would rally to the flag and defend the country if it were attacked. Russell, in "Pearson's Magazine," is out-Blatchfording Blatchford.

Even "our Allies" have placed orders for years ahead with the American Armament Ring. Brave European officers are here in hundreds with a permanent job of inspecting munitions before shipment.

How many more crimes of capitalism shall we see ere the toilers realise that, no matter who wins, they lose every time? When will they understand that after they have done fighting in the trenches they have to fight in the mine, mill, and factory? Let the workers of the nations join together for Socialism, for that is the only way to rescue civilisation.

In March 1871 the toilers of Paris gained control of the administration of that city and showed the world what workers could do when even partly freed from the clutch of King Capital. When the brutality of the bourgeoisie broke out the toilers fought behind the barricades. One workman, fighting against hopeless odds, was asked what he was fighting for, and the answer was a lesson for all time "For Humanity!"

Can those on the stricken fields of Europe today say that? No, they are fighting for the old firm—"The Ruling Class, Limited." Detroit, U.S.A. A. Korn.

* "How to Prevent Pregnancy," G. Hardy, Paris, 1916.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**HEAD OFFICE**

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"The Call" (New York).
"Canadian Forward" (Ontario).
"North West Worker" (Washington).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International Socialist" (Sydney).
"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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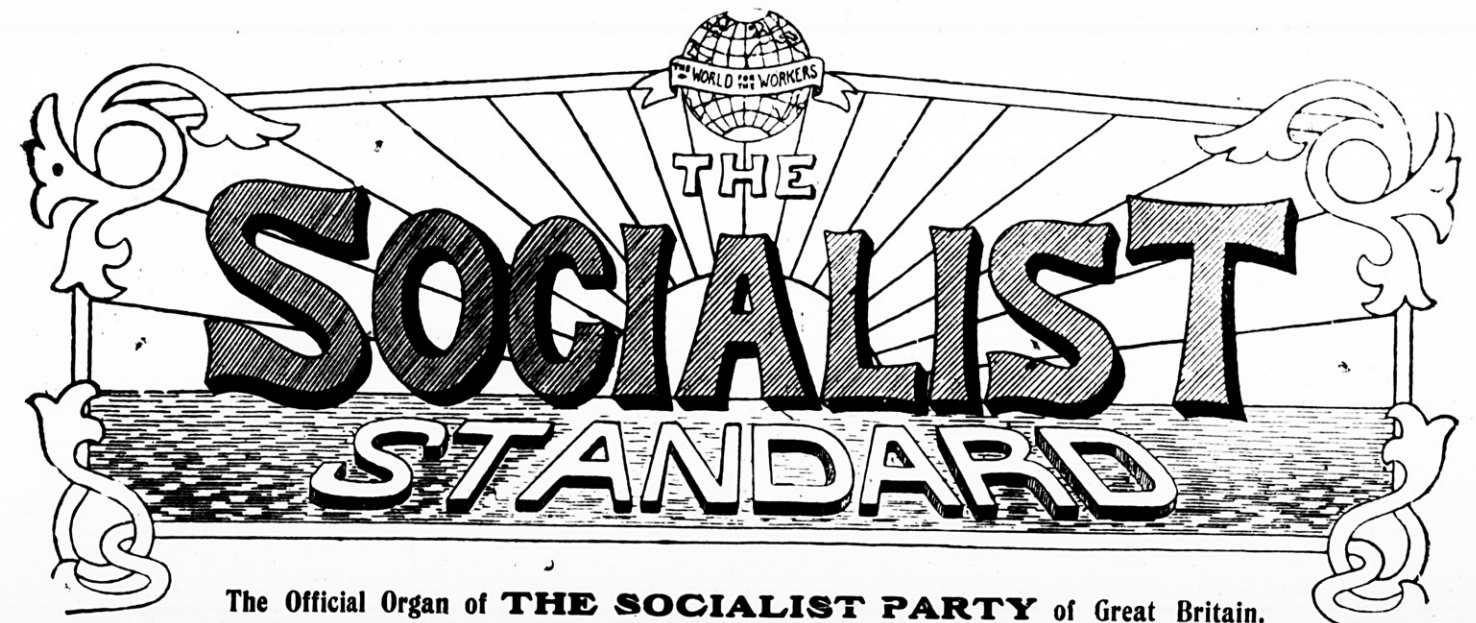
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

HOW THEY RAN THE DERBY.

THE TALE OF A GREAT JOCKEYING.

Despite the protests to the contrary by the "Daily News" and other organs of Liberalism, the conscriptionists are winning point after point in their campaign. With the usual British cant, humbug and fraud, the campaign has been carried on under various disguises and pretences so beloved by our politicians, though it is none the less effective in obtaining results, as we can see all around us.

A brief examination of the progress of this campaign will not only be interesting in itself, but will be useful in showing clearly the sinister character of those who claim that the Allies are fighting for Justice, Freedom, Righteousness, and—er—the capture of German Trade.

Having secured a victory in the Cabinet, their first step was to arrange a scheme to save the faces of Liberals who still professed to believe in the "voluntary" system. This was the "Registration Act" that was merely "to take stock of our resources in men," and Liberal members of the Cabinet indignantly repudiated the suggestion that it was the beginning of conscription. Based on this Act the "Group Scheme" was set up with Lord Derby, a wealthy Lancashire landowner, "with a stake in the country," at its head. He announced that, though a conscriptionist, he would do his utmost to make the "voluntary" system a success, while declaring in the same breath that he was going "to wind up a bankrupt concern." About halfway through the period allotted to the scheme he suddenly announced that the married men joining the army under the scheme would not be called up until all the single men, except those engaged in munition and other national work, had been called up first. If the single men did not come forward "voluntarily" then they would be fetched. That master of shuffle and ambiguity, Mr. Asquith, endorsed this statement in a "pledge" of curious clearness, coming from such a source.

This cunning move of Lord Derby, or his employers, resulted in a double success. Firstly, large numbers of married men, taking Lord Derby's remark that "he hoped it would be possible to have sufficient young men to bring the war to a successful conclusion without having to put the older and married men into the field of operations" as another "pledge," joined up in the belief that they would escape service. Secondly, the loudly advertised claim that this scheme gave the "last chance" for the "voluntary" system drove many to become unofficial recruiting agents, who called the single untested men "slackers," and used various means to bully these "slackers" into the army even to the extent of threatening to strike against working with them in some factories and workshops. This stupidity enabled the conscriptionists to claim that the demand for compulsion came from "the people" and not from any small section.

Then came the notorious "Derby Report" on the results of the scheme. This Report was specially prepared to show that the scheme had failed to bring in the single men required, although it admitted that the amazing total of 2,829,263 men (married and single) had offered their services. When it is remembered that the Prime Minister admitted that 3,000,000 men were in the army before the scheme started the total becomes more remarkable still.

But the conscriptionists were determined to have compulsion and started an agitation among the married men—attested and unattested—calling for the "fetching" of the single men. Doubtless large numbers of the married men believed that by supporting this campaign they would save themselves from being called upon to serve in the army. So the Military Service Bill was introduced. To show how completely they were bound to, and depended upon, the master class for their jobs, the majority of the "Labour" Party supported the Bill. Some of the Radical opponents of conscription, however, were not so subservient, and Sir J. Simon, Mr. Hogge, and Mr. Pringle severely criticised both the Bill and Report upon which it was based. But the most crushing and merciless exposure of the fraud of the whole report came from Mr. T. Lough (W. Islington). For some peculiar reason practically every daily paper forgot to report this speech that will be found in the "Official Report of Parliamentary Debates" for 11th Jan., 1916.

It had been loudly proclaimed that the married men had joined in large numbers while the single men held back. Mr. Lough showed that not only was this not true, but that twice as many single men had joined the army as married men, and "The whole agitation was a sham." (col. 1518). He pointed out the significant fact that while 10 per cent. of the population of France and in Germany 11.4 per cent. had come forward, in Great Britain 14 per cent. had offered themselves. Then proceeding to deal with the 651,000 single "slackers," he showed that about 500,000 of these consisted of men who had been rejected as medically unfit when trying to enlist, before the Derby scheme was started. How strikingly true is this statement was shown in our leading article in the March "S.S." No wonder he could claim that his figures "knock away the whole basis on which the Bill had been brought in." (*ibid*). On March 15th Sir J. Simon supported this view when he described the Report as "that interesting work of imagination and fancy" and stated "that the whole calculation upon which the National Service Bill was based was a calculation got at by subtracting a figure of which, according to the Under Secretary of State for War, 'no record exists, from another figure which, according to the President of the Board of Agriculture, was in-

accurately compiled."—*Official Reports*, cols. 2294 and 2300.

During the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons Mr. Asquith gave another "pledge" in reference to widows' sons, quoting a ballad of the time of Henry V. to strengthen his statement (12.1.16). So many "pledges" had now been given on various points that one of our members suggested that the Government had sufficient to open a pawn-shop. As mentioned in the March "S.S.," there has been a persistent consistency about these pledges. They have all been broken. The records of the Tribunals have shown the complete contempt with which these bodies have regarded that pledge of the widows' sons. Doubtless the widows' sons may gather some comfort from the fact reported in the "Daily Chronicle" for March 14th that the Market Bosworth Tribunal "exempted all the men employed by *Atterstone Hunt*," this, of course, being "an industry of national importance"—for the capitalists, who take care to enjoy themselves hunting foxes as a slight relaxation from hunting quids. Market Bosworth Tribunal could, of course, cite Lord Derby himself as one who opposed all exemptions and exceptions—except for capitalists and their fox-hunting attendants.

Still the mythical millions failed to materialise, and so another lie was started, that the Tribunals were granting an "enormous number of exemptions" ("Daily Mail," 19.2.16). The facts were in such glaring contradiction to this lie that the conscriptionists saw the need of starting another. Lord Derby practically admitted the fraud of the whole business when he said that neither the Group Scheme nor the Compulsion Act had brought in the men "expected." Even a conscription Act does not seem capable of producing men that, as Mr. Lough had shown, had never existed. So a fresh lie—that these "slackers" were hiding in munition factories and reserved occupations—was hatched, and a campaign was begun among the married attested men calling for "fair play" and the fulfilment of the "pledge" that "single men should go first." Having been nicely caught in the net, some of these men are prepared to assist in this campaign, but in reality they are only helping the conscriptionists to carry out their full programme. The number of men who can be spared from munition and other works of national importance will be small, and realising this, the conscriptionists have already started their last move. Colonel Yate voiced their views when on March 14th he asked the Prime Minister if he was "aware that married men who had attested are being laughed at and ridiculed for doing so by other married men who have not attested, . . . and whether he will now consider the question of treating all married men of military age upon the same footing" (*Official Report*, p. 1850). This drew forth the retort

from Sir W. Byles, "Are the married men shirkers now?"

But a far more dastardly trick has now been brought to light. When the Compulsion Bill was passing through the committee stage a prolonged discussion took place on Jan. 18 as to the position of those men who would refuse to take up military service. A large number of members, including Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. King, Mr. Morrell, Mr. Outhwaite, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Leif-Jones, Mr. Rowntree, Mr. Allan Baker, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Byles, raised the question from various points of view. For a long time the Attorney-General, Sir F. E. Smith, acting for the War Office, refused to give any undertaking on the matter, and even pretended for a while to misunderstand the questions. At length a statement was drawn from him and embodied in the Act in the following terms:

a man who is deemed to have been enlisted and transferred to the reserve under this section shall not be liable to suffer death in respect of failure to obey an order calling him up from the reserve for permanent service. (Military Service Act, clause 1, section 2, Subsection c.)

On the 14th March Mr. Snowden raised the question in the House again, and as practically all the newspapers misrepresented his question it will be preferable to quote the Official Report.

Mr. Snowden asked the Under Secretary for War if the undertaking given by the Attorney-General in the House of Commons on 18th Jan. last . . . extends to a person taken by force under the Military Service Act 1916, who refuses to submit to military orders and discipline; and if so, if he will state what is the maximum penalty of imprisonment in such a case.

Mr. Tennant: I think my right hon. friend's assurance was limited to the conscientious objector. I think it must be obvious that once a man, deemed to have been enlisted under the Military Service Act 1916 joins for duty with the colours he must be subject to the Army Act in exactly the same way as any other soldier. . . . It would obviously be improper for the death sentence to be applicable to those who have enlisted voluntarily and inapplicable to those who join the Army under compulsion.

(Italics mine.) Note the dirty evasion by the "Honourable" Tennant. The question had nothing to do with a person who "joins for duty with the colours," but with one who refused to join at all.

Mr. Snowden: Are we to understand that the pledge of the Attorney-General which was incorporated in the Act is now withdrawn, and if a person who refuses to act as a soldier because he thinks he has been unjustly treated or because he has conscientious objections he is to be shot? Are we to understand that it is to be the purport of the Right Hon. gentleman's reply?

Mr. Tennant: No, Sir, the Hon. gentleman is not to understand that. What the Attorney-General said was that no conscientious objector would be subjected to the death penalty. I think the Hon. member should put the question to my right hon. friend.

Mr. Snowden: I have tried to do so, but the question was not accepted at the table.

Mr. Tennant: I have been in communication with my right hon. friend, and the answer I have given is the joint answer agreed upon.

For cool effrontery and calculated contempt for the working class this would be hard to beat, even by the gang that hold such a gigantic record in that direction. With the Act in operation scarcely a fortnight, an important clause is torn out upon "the joint answer agreed upon" by two officials without any legal authority being given them for doing so. "Violent resistance to the law was strongly deprecated by Sir John Simon. What does he think of this deliberate violation of the law by two of his colleagues, one of whom is the Attorney-General?"

But the capitalist class of this country is being rapidly pushed on to the horns of a dilemma. Practically all the men available for military service have been taken up. As the "Daily Chronicle," 17.3.16, says, "The orange has been nearly sucked dry." More men for the Army can only be obtained by taking them from munition works, and the mills and factories engaged in the trade and commerce of the country so necessary for the maintenance of credit and exchange abroad. The enormous importance of the latter point will be clearly seen when it is remembered that England is the financier for the Allies. The appalling ignorance and extreme narrow-mindedness of the militarist section is quite capable of causing them to involve the business of the country in ruin for the purpose of increasing an army that ultimately could neither be armed nor fed.

The replacement of men by women and of skilled men by unskilled takes a certain amount of time, and this is just what the militarists cannot spare. Signs are not wanting that this replacement has reached its limit for the present, as is shown by the thousands of women vainly seeking employment, and by the fact that many employers, despite the bait of low-priced female labour, are finding that such labour-power can be too dearly bought in bad production and damaged machinery, and are refusing to take more into their works. Even so violent a recruit for the Army as Mr. J. H. Thomas, the "labour" M.P., warns the Government that "It was impossible to replace a single skilled man by an unskilled married man," ("Times," 16.3.16) and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Balfour, admitted that they could not increase their production of aeroplanes because the manufacturers of aeroplane engines were unable to obtain more skilled men for this work. The remedy of the conscriptionists is to take the men that are at work.

Amidst the vast blunders and glaring stupidities perpetrated by the ruling class and its agents we can see the low cunning that, with them, takes the place of the intellectual capacity and grasp required for a scientific organisation of society. The swindle of the Registration Act, the setting of the married men against the single, the attested against the unattested, and so on, are the mean, despicable methods, below the level of Fagin, that they love to employ.

Yet it is to such crafty ignorances and slimy incompetents that the working class have handed not only the control of social affairs, but their own limbs and lives for these scum to dispose of as they please.

With power within their reach to take control of the social forces for themselves, with the means, by way of capturing political power, of abolishing wars by uprooting their cause—the capitalist system of production for private profit—with the future showing clear and splendid because of the enormous powers of production now at hand and being developed, making it possible for all to enjoy the best that human knowledge and power can produce, the Socialist sounds a clarion call to the working class:

Away with superstitions, religious or economic. Be men and women in the full sense of the word, self-reliant and confident. Come out to take your glorious heritage, for you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win. J. F.

TRADE A'MIGHTY.

The god of capitalist society is Trade. According to its prophets, when it flourishes there is more wealth for capitalists and more work for the workers. All men, with the exception of the unemployed—who are always with us—sing its praises. When it declines there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth—with little between them to bite, in the case of the working class. There are plenty to sell and few to buy; and while the capitalist fears for his profits, the worker trembles for his job, and one and all marvel at the mystery, not daring to seek an explanation for consequences so universal and disastrous. Appalled by their magnitude, both classes shiver like savages in proximity to spheres they do not understand.

The capitalist god is nervous and fickle in the eyes of his worshippers: he will follow a flimsy rag at one time, while at other times a carefully worded prayer, offered up simultaneously in all the churches of the land, has not power to rouse him from his lethargy.

Portraits of emperors and kings and theatrical stars, alongside grotesque caricatures of human beings and monkeys, are used as figure-heads to advertise pickles and soap, while poets and artists indulge their aesthetic tastes and satisfy their material needs at one and the same time by eulogising in rhyme and colour—egg powder and sausages.

For years managing directors of large firms have been lecturing on business methods and efficiency. Business men, and even statesmen, have emphasised in long articles the need for colleges of science to serve trade.

Trade has been the centre of political controversy for years—the one all-absorbing theme of

politicians inside and outside the House of Commons. Free Trade on the one side, Tariff Reform on the other, have enlisted armies of speakers and writers, whose continuous flow of language has dwarfed every other subject and made all things appear insignificant in comparison.

The building of harbours and ships for commerce was referred to as industrial rivalry between nations. With the outbreak of the European War commenced the long series of exhortations to capture the enemy's trade, and the plea for equal trading rights for all nations, large or small, as a settlement. In short, trade is alleged to be of such vast importance that we live by it—that we could not live without it.

Yet, after all, what is trade? Briefly, it is the exchange of wealth. Now wealth cannot be exchanged until it is produced. It follows, therefore, that exchange or trade is something which transpires after the production and before the consumption of wealth. Trade or exchange is altogether distinct from distribution. The latter is absolutely necessary in any form of society where there is division of labour. In primitive communities there existed a rudimentary division of labour and a consequent distribution of goods without exchange of equivalents in the modern sense.

Exchange could not exist under Socialism, because wealth would be owned in common and distribution only would be necessary. Because wealth is privately owned under capitalism exchange must take place, and because there is division of labour distribution must take place. The fact that the two processes frequently appear as one, as when the baker distributes bread which he exchanges for money, accounts for some of the confusion that exists with regard to the two terms.

The need for exchange can only arise when society regards wealth as the property of those who produce it. Even then, that is to say, in the early stages of the evolution of property, the means of production, chiefly the land, were owned in common and allotted periodically to the producers. Exchange under these conditions would not, therefore, press harshly upon anyone, seeing that each would possess the means for producing and consequently owning some of the wealth of the community. In fact, extreme poverty in the midst of abundance did not appear until the tools of production evolved till only the wealthy could acquire them, the natural outcome of this being the hired worker or wage-slave.

This change once established and generally accepted by society, the foundations of modern trade were laid. It will be seen at once, however, that before this change man lived and satisfied his wants, though his struggle with nature was far more severe than it is to-day.

Modern trade had its origin somewhere about the 16th century, when trade routes were discovered to different parts of the world, and markets were consequently opened for the sale of the surplus wealth of the guilds. The latter soon proved incapable of supplying these markets, and had therefore to give way to new social forms which would meet the expansion in trade. From that time onward enclosures of land and division of labour, together with the invention of machinery, proceeded with great rapidity until to-day the interests of the trading class are supreme, while the working class have reached depths of poverty and excessive toil to which history can show no parallel.

In fact, the misery of the working class has increased in proportion as the trading class has universalised trade and made itself supreme. Competition between capitalists, national and international, has made a cheapening of production imperative. Unemployment has increased and women and children have taken the places of men because they were cheaper. The competition for markets finds its echo among the workers in competition for jobs.

On the other hand, the class whose progenitors sent their ship to discover a western Eldorado, have stumbled across the richest source of wealth that has ever existed on this planet. The surplus-value that the worker leaves behind him in the factory, surpasses everything that has ever been written in "Grim's Fairy Tales" or "Arabian Nights Entertainments." The luxury of modern society will be a by-word for future generations, just as the luxury and decadence of

BY THE WAY.

Whither are We Drifting?

In using the above heading do not let it be for one moment supposed that the word "we" in any sense refers to the Socialist Party of Great Britain. On this occasion I am referring to the employing class. As has already been pointed out in the columns of the "S.S.," one result of the war has been that our masters have had to somewhat overhaul their system of exploitation and modify their operations. In the early days of the war anti-Socialist journals—that had previously devoted much time and space to the question of State capitalism, which they deemed to be identical with Socialism, and also, be it noted, they further declared would lead to the end of all things—were loud in their praise of the action of the Government in taking over the railways, and even clamoured for an extension of this phase of State capitalism. Only recently in another capitalist paper they were demanding the taking over of the mines as a means of remedying the agitation which is still smouldering in the mine areas. Again, more recently still "our representatives" in the House of Commons had a discussion on the subject of Trade after the War, and curiously enough I find that even there speakers were advocating the same thing. Let me quote:

"Amongst those who are inclined to agree to some system of tariff after the war, but who were not protectionist before, there are two classes. First, there are those who are actuated by a genuine desire to make our trade independent of Germany. They point to supplies of dyes, zinc, potash, in which we have been very dependent upon Germany. If anything is to be done in that direction I should say, as a Free Trader, that a tariff would have nothing to do with it, and in those cases it would, I think, be a question of establishing, either under direct State control or by subsidy, means which would make us independent in those respects." —Official Report, Mar. 9, Col. 1747.

From the foregoing it is quite obvious that our bosses will do any and every thing to maintain their supremacy and it serves to show the futility of the action of the "advanced Labour Leaders" who likewise espouse the same cause. "kidding" themselves and their dupes that it will assist them in emancipating themselves from the thralldom of capitalism. Nothing short of class-conscious action will avail, and the only organisation in the field to-day which points the way is the S.P.G.B. Study our aims and object! Think for yourself; if you agree with us then come and join in the only real fight that matters and help to speed the day when peace and plenty shall abound for all.

The New Phraseology.

During the recent months we have been afforded an opportunity of noting in connection with the war the method our bosses have of expressing themselves on the subject of slaughter and the details relating thereto.

In the early days of November last the world was informed with a great flourish of trumpets, that the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill was resigning his position of "well-paid inactivity" (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) and about to take up military duties. Later he made a personal statement in the House of Commons, briefly referring to the events at Antwerp and the expedition to the Dardanelles. Referring to the latter, he said:

"I recommended it to the War Council, and to the French Government, not as a certainty, but as a legitimate war gamble with stakes that we could afford to lose for a prize of incalculable value."

—Official Reports, Nov. 15, No. 115, Col. 1510.

During the passage of the Military Service Bill—a Bill to assist "us" (the British capitalist class) in crushing Prussian militarism—speaker after speaker stated that this measure was necessary in order that we might obtain the necessary crop of recruits to make good the wastage brought about as the result of placing men in trenches and arming them with weapons of destruction.

F. F.

On the occasion of the Debate on Peace Proposals, initiated by Mr. P. Snowden, there was, of course, the official reply delivered by Mr. Asquith. This gentleman, who is so concerned about the rights and liberties of small nations (?) informed the House that "he should not like it to go forth to the world that the two hon. gentlemen, to whom we have listened with well-deserved consideration, are the spokesmen of any substantial body of opinion in this country." Doubtless it would come almost as a shock to this type of official ignorance to learn that, though at present they are in a minority, yet there is a growing body of opinion which takes a much stronger view against war than those who introduced the Debate.

The point I desire to call attention to here is the language used by the right hon. gent., who is evidently more concerned about the Allies obtaining a complete military success than the wholesale slaughter of the international working class. He says:

"We cannot apparently either way, whether we are stalemated or whether we checkmate the enemy, win the game."

—Official Report, Feb. 23, Vol. 80, No. 6, Col. 725. Italics mine.

While millions of the world's workers are engaged in deadly combat our masters are talking flippantly about "war gambles" and winning the "game." The total disregard of this waste of human life is a matter of no moment to our bosses in their desire to maintain their vile system of society. What matters who dies so long as capitalism lives!

Peace, Perfect Peace.

One cannot help returning to the before-mentioned debate to note the attitude taken up by the member who introduced the discussion (P. Snowden). In some circles he is being exalted because of his supposed desire for peace. But what peace can there be while the present basis of society lasts? All the germs of war remain an integral part of the present constitution of society. The struggle of nations for a "place in the sun" is the hot-bed of dissension. The struggle to gain and hold the markets of the world must inevitably lead to commercial rivalry and war. But what does the gentleman of "drinksolden democracy" fame say:

"In no former war has the nation given such practical and overwhelming testimony of its belief in the righteousness and justice of our national cause. It is an unanswerable proof of the determination of the nation to continue this war to a successful conclusion that . . . 6,000,000 should voluntarily have enlisted for a cause which is nearest to our dearest and most permanent interests . . ."

This identification with and support of the war by one who claims at times to be identified with the Socialist movement clearly shows his lip service to the Socialist cause. Has Mr. Snowden ever voted against the various Votes of Credit for carrying on the war? Consequently there is no need for surprise at the remarks of Mr. Asquith when he delivered himself of the following:

"He [Snowden] said that in this country we were at one, first of all, in acknowledging the disinterested motives with which we here entered into and are carrying on the war, and next—this is more important—that we were at one, and should remain at one, in demanding that the conditions of peace should be such that our ends should be permanently and honourably attained."

"I am very glad to take note of those statements on the part of my hon. friend and to put on record, not only for the benefit of this country, but of countries outside, that there is absolute unity in the whole of this kingdom in regard to those two supreme points."—Col. 724.

No, sir, the only way to an enduring peace lies in the workers understanding the economic cause of war, in their abolition of capitalism and its national antagonisms and growing struggle for markets to dispose of the ever-increasing surplus wealth. Therefore, the remedy is for the working class to take over the means of production and distribution, in order that what they produce may belong to them. And then with the abolition of a wage-slave and a robber class at last shall come "Peace on earth and good will among men."

THE SCOUT.

fixing the wages of this worker. The future will bring enormous additions to home industries workers, and with this addition far-reaching reductions of wages and probably lengthening of hours. The franchise assures us that in Germany, at any rate, not only will wages sink rapidly after the war, but that the purchasing power of money will be far less than it was before August 1914. The cost of the most modest establishment and all necessary for its maintenance, will be excessive for many years after the end of the war, and the professor's greatest fear is that high prices will be maintained for most of the necessary foods. Even under the most favourable circumstances conceivable the return of food prices, of the prices of coals, oil and gas, clothes, cotton goods and boots, to normal conditions will take years, perhaps a generation. All over the country the first sign of the coming change is seen—the gradual migration of enormous numbers from their present dwellings into smaller and less expensive houses.

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A LESSON FOR TO-DAY.

Thus spoke Engels of the final act of the tragedy; and this brief note of that defeat of the workers cannot more fittingly end than in the words of Marx, written in May, 1871, which are eloquent of his view of the relative importance of the national and the class struggles.

That after the most tremendous war of modern times the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternise for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled deed in history, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of the new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are ONE as against the proletariat!

We shall publish in our next issue an article dealing with the way in which the case of genuine Conscientious Objectors has been prejudiced by the Non-Conscription Fellowship.

Every new hardship inflicted on the working class calls for strenuous denunciation by the British Socialist Party, and a palliative for the workers to pin their faith to, and waste their energies on. Conscription, national service, rising prices; these and many other things only serve to encourage the inventive faculties of the leaders of the British Socialist Party. They have a separate remedy for each and in most cases it is necessary for the vast majority of the working class to act together in order to apply the remedy.

For a party claiming to be Socialist to propose to educate and organise the workers, or at least a majority of the workers, to take some kind of action against the ruling class for anything short of Socialism, is fraudulent. By such an attitude the party's original object, indicated by their name, is negated; for they must either be revolutionary and work for "the day" or they must be merely a reform party and work to put off the Revolution. The B.S.P. denies this by stating that each reform will bring Socialism nearer, but merely stating such does not prove it.

The British Socialist Party, after explaining the terrors of a proposed national service law, says in conclusion:

The Government officers would have to assign to each man or woman their several tasks. Thus there would be no equality. In practice, of course, it would be only the men and women of the manual working class who would be sent to the factories. It is not suggested that the capitalist employers should be conscripted and put to work on fixed rates of pay instead of profits.

"Thus there would be no equality," they say. Does this mean that equality would end and that henceforth society would be made up of inequalities? Is it to be understood that the British Socialist Party mean that equality exists to-day and that national service would abolish it? I wait patiently for some evidence of this equality, which the British Socialist Party assume to be present in capitalist society, or failing that, some justification of their own existence, with the avowed object of establishing Socialism.

Where is the need for them if equality already exists to-day?

But perhaps they mean that there would be no equality among the workers; which, of course, would be untrue, as the workers are already on an equal footing in the sense that they must all sell their labour-power. Under national service they would have fresh grounds of equality. They would all have their tasks assigned to them by government officials.

The last sentence in the above quotation is, however, the choicest, "It is not suggested that the capitalist employer should be conscripted and put to work on fixed rates of pay instead of profits." We have to remember, in order to appreciate this remark, that it is addressed to members of the working class, who believe implicitly in the necessity of "capitalist employers." The average working man accepts the capitalist's description of himself,—one who finds the capital and the brains, without which society could not exist. Believing this much he would naturally resent the British Socialist Party's attempted sarcasm. He would say, "We must have employers, if not where is the capital coming from our industry? and the B.S.P.?" or would either be dumb or he would have to hark back to first principles. He would be compelled to explain the nature and history of capitalism, carefully defining nearly every word, answering innumerable questions, and debating everything debatable. In short, these words,

In practice of course it would be only the men and women of the manual working class who would be sent to the factories." "Of course." Who is it that works in the factories now? The same workers who believe in the necessity of capitalists, believe also in the necessity and the justice of their enforced labour. In short, they believe in capitalism; they have faith in the system because, poor and wretched as they are, without the opportunity of working for some capitalist they would quickly starve. This is the attitude of the average worker, to whom there is a difference between employers and degrees of poverty, that is about all. He has no conception whatever of the real meaning of Socialism. By what sort of logic, then, do the British Socialist Party reconcile their literature with their name? A Socialist party should provide the working class with a genuine understanding of Socialism; it should give to the workers the conception they lack, before it can expect them to appreciate its sarcasm.

The proposals for the partial control of output and the limitation of profits in controlled establishments are altogether insufficient. The situation demanded and demands that private profit-making should be abolished, that the Government should take the production of munitions entirely out of private hands and carry on that production on a real national basis under national control.

Again, while Socialism alone is sufficient for the Socialist, why refer to a certain Government action as insufficient and assert that the situation demanded something more—which something more was not Socialism? Do the British Socialist Party mean to say that their proposal would amount—to use a hackneyed phrase—to an instalment of Socialism? But we must not suppose anything. The members of the British Socialist Party ought to know that when the Government runs an industry it runs it in the interest of the class it represents, and that the workers employed by the Government have no more control over that industry than other workers, nor have they learned anything of Socialism as a result of their change of employers. "But the production of munitions of war, whilst important, is only one aspect of the national crisis." With the British Socialist Party, national sentiment evidently comes before international ideals. "Britain for the British" (capitalists) first, and what then?

"The great increase in the cost of living since the war began is directly attributable to the private ownership and control of those commodities on which life depends." It would have been as well if the B.S.P. had informed their readers that the private ownership of the "commodities on which life depends" is a result of the private or class ownership of the means of wealth production. Failing to do this, those readers are left to infer that only the increase in prices is due to this private ownership. Why particularize about a mere modification when every social evil afflicting the working class is the result of the class ownership of the means of life, and could all be effaced by Socialism.

The production and supply of food and fuel must no longer remain the monopoly of those who seek to make private gain out of public necessity, and to whom the satisfaction of national requirements is always secondary to the making of profits. The munitions of life, as well as the munitions of war, must be placed under complete national control, in the interests of the nation, now and after the war.

Here the B.S.P. spokesmen have forgotten one of the cardinal facts established by Socialism; that there are only two classes in society, and that public necessity and national requirements mean capitalist necessity and requirements. Both are capitalist phrases, used with suspicious frequency in the capitalist Press. The Socialist knows that they are used in this way in order to perpetuate among the workers the belief that social relations within the nation are in the main harmonious; that class division is natural, necessary and unavoidable; and that territorial divi-

Fellow Citizens, in the hour of Britain's greatest need capitalism has proved a hopeless failure, and it is to Social Democratic proposals that the community has been compelled to turn.

We have only to look for the changes that have been introduced during the period of the war, in order to discover what these "Social Democratic" proposals are. State control of those industries necessary for the prosecution of the war. If this is all the B.S.P. have to offer as a solution for working-class problems, they are indeed bankrupt as a working-class party. These changes have effected nothing even for the workers engaged in those industries. On the contrary, according to the B.S.P.'s own showing, the Government control and interference has robbed these workers of rules and customs that it has taken them "generations of collective effort against the employing class to establish." So much for "Social Democratic" proposals.

Next they say "Every stage in the great national crisis through which we are now passing has demonstrated the collapse of competitive capitalism." Do they suggest non-competitive capitalism, and do they claim that social-democratic proposals would have this effect? If so, they will find that all such ideas were exploded by Marx long before they were adopted by them or the "Fabian Society" before them.

Every effective step that has been taken has shown the practicability and necessity of Socialism. That is the great lesson the nation should learn from the terrible experience of the last eleven months. The system of national control and ownership, already partly applied, must be continued and extended, and on the ruins of capitalist civilisation must be established the foundations of the Socialist Commonwealth.

We have glanced at the "effective steps" and the "national control and ownership, already partly applied" and have seen how worthless they are, either as palliatives or as object-lessons for the workers as to the practicability of Socialism. The working-man with an average amount of common-sense needs no telling that nationalisation solves no problems for him. Whatever national control may mean in the minds of the B.S.P., the postal employees and the overworked munition workers know from experience that it does not mean control by them, or improved conditions for them. To continue and extend these "Social-Democratic" proposals is, consequently, only to drag more workers within the scope of national control, and make them directly subject to the State. In so far as this is done, "national service," which the B.S.P. denounce, becomes more of a reality. They say:

Just as on the industrial field the British Socialist Party has demanded the complete State ownership, organisation, and control of the nation's industrial resources to meet the national emergency, so in existing circumstances it RECOGNISES THAT THE MILITARY RESOURCES OF EVERY NATION MUST BE ORGANISED OR PURPOSES OF NATIONAL DEFENCE. It has urged, in accordance with the decisions of International Socialist Congresses, the universal military training of every able-bodied male citizen in a democratic citizen army, free from military law in times of peace, FOR THE PURPOSE OF HOME DEFENCE ALONE. Such a force could neither be used to deprive the working class of their popular liberties, nor to further the ambitions of capitalist imperialism.

As the army of every country is to be for home defence only, there can be no fear anywhere of aggression, consequently no need even for defensive armies. Why do the B.S.P. want armies? Under capitalism all nations organise fighting forces to make secure the domination of the ruling class; to clear the way for the

SOME QUOTATIONS AND A MORAL.

All things must have an end—even the war. Indeed, the feverish activity that characterises the campaign of preparedness for peace, in the guise of inter-colonial, inter-allied, and other conferences and committees for discussing conditions of fiscal and trade reciprocity for the post-war period, would seem to indicate that our masters feel that the end cannot be long delayed. Whether that end be stalemate or checkmate to each or any of the national rivals the end, as far as the workers are concerned, will be the same. One does not need the prophetic eye to foresee trouble.

Our daily newspapers profess to see trouble for the "enemy" alone. Every day they give us fearful details of the state of Germany. Every week for the past eighteen months she has called up her last man. Every month has seen her shoot her "last bolt." Her losses are always "disproportionately heavy." And in Germany, as far as one can gather, the compliment is returned in full. Surely the capitalist journals of all belligerent Europe must stink in the nostrils of every intelligent man and woman!

It is always the other country that is going to suffer; always the "enemy" that is in desperate straits; but occasionally, in order to show the "enemy's" plight, the picture given mirrors home conditions so clearly that even a colour-blind patriot cannot fail to see the red light.

A case in point is an article by Professor Francke, editor of the *Soziale Praxis*, in the *Preussische Jahrbucher*, which is quoted lengthily in the London "Daily Chronicle" of 17 March in order to demonstrate the bleakness of the German outlook. Its perusal will show how exactly similar are the workings of capitalism at home and abroad, and how difficult it is to avoid reading "England" where Germany is mentioned. In another respect it will indicate the nature of the "fruits of victory" to the workers here as elsewhere.

POST-WAR INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

With regard to women's work he is clearly of opinion that in future it will profoundly modify the labour market. It has come to stay. The Imperial Statistical Office says the number of females in Germany in receipt of wages rose in Feb. and Sept. 1915 by 600,000, in the city of Berlin alone by 12,000. They have for the most part got accustomed to their work, and innumerable employers have given the most ungrudging testimony to their efficiency and reliability. After this war women in countless cases will occupy positions hitherto held by men, and the competition between man and woman will be intensified. She will take the man's work, and she will undoubtedly depress his wages. The work of women, says Francke, will act automatically in decreasing wages all round.

EFFECT ON HOME INDUSTRIES.

After the war, says Prof. Francke, turning to another branch of his subject, Germany will contain hundreds of thousands of mutilated and crippled men in receipt of pensions, not sufficient to sustain them, and therefore obliged to seek industrial work of some kind. . . . Numerous employers of labour will avail themselves of the services of these war invalids, but their pensions will certainly affect their wages detrimentally, and also the wages of their comrades not in receipt of a pension. Already there are indications that this process is at work, and in the present largely given by industrialists to the widows and children of fallen soldiers the earnings of home workers have been rendered almost impossible, and the condition of this unfortunate class of industrial labourer more abject than ever. If a manufacturer knows that one of his home workers receives an allowance from the Government enabling him to live rent free he would naturally reckon with this fact in

THE COMING LABOUR WAR.

One of the most inevitable industrial consequences of the war will be, in Professor Francke's opinion, the strengthening of the position of employers, individually and associated in federations. In the course of the war their power has already enormously increased, and although their numbers have been diminished, their strength does not rest so much on their numbers as men, as on the number of their establishments.

As a rule, these establishments have improved and strengthened their positions, and have increased their concentration. There are now fewer independent groups of industrialists. Unity among them is now doubly complete, and there can be no longer any doubt that German industrialists after the war will go hand in hand with the Agricultural Alliance and with the Middle Class Leagues. The leading men of the most important industries are already stating in their Press that their principles remain unchanged, and assume with absolute conviction that they are the masters of the situation. They insist that Social Democracy shall learn a lesson from the war, and re-write the principles which have hitherto guided them. They therefore decline to re-write anything, and, therefore, when peace comes, there will be peace and relief from years of bloodshed, but the war of labour will succeed it, and no one knows whither its battles will lead.

In this country the fact that capitalist concentration has made enormous progress, and that the position of the employer is strengthened and that of the worker weakened, is obvious to all. Trade union and Factory Act conditions are overthrown, never to be fully re-established; woman and child labour is exploited as it has never been before. Despite all lies about working-class prosperity, the workers are getting rapidly worse off. Even the official Board of Trade figures for March give the increase in the cost of food to the average household as 48 per cent., and housewives are wondering how the Government arrives at such a moderate estimate. It means a substantial depreciation of the worker's standard of life, and by no means least in those munition industries where workers are literally using themselves up in intense and most excessive hours of labour in return for an entirely illusory larger pay, with the probability of being thrown on the scrap-heap as worn out and useless when "peace" conditions return.

Some of the examples of the wages paid to women munition workers can only be described as paralyzing. Miss Margaret Bondfield stated at a conference reported in the morning papers of March 16th that

In one factory the women worked five days a week from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m., on Saturday from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m., and on Sundays from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. The work, the making of hand grenades, was paid for at the rate of 2½d. an hour. Even in that sweated industry of tin box making the wages had been established at 2½d. an hour.

The process in cartridge making known as the twelfth operation had to be gone through 18,000 times before 3s. could be earned.

What prospect does this sort of thing offer for the post-war period? The plight of the young also is fearful. They are being driven prematurely into agriculture and industry, and being mentally and physically stunted to a greater degree than ever. Young lads are now placed in sole charge of heavy vans or made to haul great weights, and it is a common and painful sight in London streets to see young and immature girls lunging and straining at the pedals of heavy carrier tricycles, to be almost certainly physically ruined for life. While working men are being slain wholesale, their jobs are being abolished at an even faster rate by cheaper labour, by automatic machinery, and by a thousand and one labour-saving devices. So far is it from there being any prospect of an in-

crease in the economic strength of the workers relatively to the employing class, that the latter are growing economically stronger while trade unions decline in power absolutely and relatively. There is, therefore, the certainty of widespread and desperate labour struggles, doomed to fail to do more than act as a slight retarding force against the encroachments of the capitalists. There is also it is true, the certainty that ultimately the utter failure of the economic movement and of the pseudo-labour political reform movement to make headway, will force the workers in the end to use the political weapon class-consciously and ruthlessly to overthrow capitalist control over their lives and labours, and inaugurate the era of industrial democracy. But is that end in sight? Are the workers conscious of their class interests and true aims? Are they out of the leading-strings of the Charlatan and hypocritical capitalist politician? It must be confessed that they are not. Much educational work remains to be done, and the labourers in the Socialist vineyard are as yet too few. Nevertheless there are important features of hope and cheer. The economic basis of Socialism is being ripened during the war as never before. And in this connection the words of Frederick Engels written many years ago promise to be almost literally fulfilled. The words in question were translated and published in an American exchange, the "New York Call," and are reproduced below.

FREDERICK ENGELS ON THE WORLD WAR.

What Frederick Engels thought about a future world-war is clearly shown in a part of a preface written by him in 1887 for a new edition of Borkeim's book, "Zur Erinnerung an die Deutschen Mordspatrioten" ("A Monument for the German Jingo").

In this foreword Engels places the responsibility on the system of competitive armament, and declares this to be the factor which will finally bear fruit in making war inevitable.

The most remarkable passage written by Engels, almost thirty years ago, is as follows:

"And, finally, no other wars will be possible for Prussia (Germany) but a world war, a war so extensive and frightful as has been hitherto unthought of. Eight to ten million soldiers will murder one another, and incidentally devour Europe as would a swarm of locusts. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War pressed together into three or four years and spread over the entire continent; famine, epidemics, a partial return to savagery on the part of the armies and the masses of the people, brought about by acute suffering; demoralization of trade, industry, and credit, ending in general bankruptcy! An absolute impossibility to predict how all will end and who will be the victor. One thing is absolutely certain, general exhaustion and, the bringing about of the conditions which will be necessary for the final victory of the working class!"

"This is what must be looked forward to when the system of competitive armament will have borne its inevitable fruits. To this pass, princes and statesmen, you have brought Europe, and if nothing else is left you but to start the last great war dance, we may as well be satisfied with it. The war may, perhaps, force us into the background for the moment; may even take from us many a position we have conquered, but if you loose the forces which you are afterwards unable to control, things might as well go as they will."

As with all the words of either of the founders of the scientific Socialist movement, the words above quoted have a startlingly up-to-date sound and meaning. Marx or Engels may have misjudged the pace of economic development, but they never mistook its direction. The words have a grave message for us. The growing ripeness of economic conditions for social change places a great responsibility and a heavy but glorious task upon our shoulders as pioneers in the Socialist movement in this country. It is our duty to ensure, as far as in us lies, that the intellectual development of the working class keeps pace with ripening conditions. We must all understand—and teach. A premature revolt of the workers born of mere misery and devoid of understanding must end in chaos and defeat. It would put the working-class movement back for years, and bring in its train an apathy and disappointment that would increase the difficulties to be faced. Hence our watchwords must be: Learn! Discuss! Educate! Organise! In order that the stirring times ahead shall find us stronger in numbers and fully equipped for the successful prosecution of the greater war, so that at last order may be brought out of chaos, peace

out of strife, and health, happiness and comradeship—instead of misery and hate—be the inevitable outcome of mankind's rationally ordered industrial activity. F. C. W.

SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL.

Few journalists of the capitalist Press have exhibited such insight into the character of contemporary politicians as Mr. W. Purvis. This gentleman, in an article ("The Man Who Saved France") setting forth the merits of the late Adolphe Thiers—one time President of France—gives vent to the following gem of political wisdom:

There was something of Mr. Lloyd George and a great deal of our English Premier in Adolphe Thiers. In his unconscious and amusing egotism he reminds one often of our Minister of Munitions; and he does so, too, in the ease with which he could turn on the tap of poetic and patriotic eloquence, as well as in certain flashes of poetical inspiration. "Sunday Chronicle," 16.1.16.

How far this comparison is true may be gathered from the following extracts from the character sketch of M. Thiers given in Marx's "Civil War in France":

Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie, . . . because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption. . . . The massacre of the Republicans in the rue-Traumont, and the subsequent infamous laws of September against the Press and the right of association were his work.

This is particularly appropriate in view of the Featherstone massacre, and the fact that Asquith is the head of, and Lloyd George a member of, the government which has suppressed more journals in the interests of capital than any other of recent years. "Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it. Having entered his first ministry under Louis Philippe poor as Job, he left it a millionaire." Lloyd George started with nothing; he now gets £5,000 a year and still is in his own opinion "a comparatively poor man." (Marconi affair.) He is getting on.

We are sorry to hear that the original inventor of Kinematography, Mr. Friese-Greene, is to-day living in absolute want. "John Bull," Jan. 22, 1916.

The same old story of the inventor under capitalism. He wears his brain away and rots in poverty while the capitalists, having cheated and robbed him, realise the full fruits of his invention. How many fortunes are to-day being built up through the medium of the Kinema industry? Yet Friese-Greene has to be dependent upon charity—the statement above quoted being followed by an appeal for his support, addressed with unconscious irony to those "who are to-day benefiting so largely in connection with the moving picture industry."

The manner in which the "standard of living" of the workers is "rising" is illustrated by this cutting from the "Daily Dispatch" of 4th Feb. 1916. "Those who find beef or mutton beyond their means will be at least interested to learn that horseflesh may now be bought at properly-equipped butchers' shops." This, mind you, from a paper that is continually informing us of the extravagance of the working "classes" in this time of high wages, war bonuses, etc., etc., of which an example is seen in the next column of the same paper of the same date:

A woman who was stated to earn 13s. 1d. for a week's work of 61 hours at Salford applied in vain at the Manchester Munitions Tribunal yesterday to be allowed to go to another firm. . . . The firm's representative, in answer to a question by Mr. P. W. Atkin (the Salford stipendiary) regarding the girl's total wages, said she worked a normal week of 50½ hours and 8½ hours overtime, making a total, including the extra payment for overtime, of 61 hours. Her total wages with the war-bonus were 13s. 1d., which the firm considered was fair remuneration having regard to her age and experience. . . . The Chairman, whilst remarking that the firm might consider giving the worker more wages, declined to grant the certificate.

The tendency to supervise more strictly that which the worker sees, hears, and reads, and only to allow that which is considered "good for him," is increasing. The Altrincham license-

ing magistrates have decided that "in future all licenses would be endorsed to the effect that anything to 'educate the young in a wrong direction,' or anything which is 'likely to produce tumult or a breach of peace,' should not be shown."—"Daily Dispatch," Feb. 4, 1919.

At a moment of unexampled anxiety the Treasury are faced with the virtual bankruptcy of the National Insurance Scheme. The Government are heavily in debt to the panel chemists, while the remuneration of the doctors—generous enough at the outset—has, upon one pretext and another, been reduced almost to the level of the old Friendly Society terms. Meanwhile, instructions have been issued that only cheap medicines, and not too much of these, shall be prescribed. "John Bull," 12.2.16.

The doctors are kicking, the chemists are kicking, but the workers, the dupes of the scheme, where are they? They go blandly along—"forepence a week he gives, forepence a week," but not for ninepence. R. W. H.

HISTORY AS A SCIENCE. Continued.

and interests. The more conscious these classes become of their real interests, the more definite are their aims, and the more compact and united do they become. And where their desires conflict with the aspirations of another class, a more or less open struggle takes place between them. Besides the great revolutionary class struggles, the outcome of which has at different periods wrought fundamental changes in society, there have also been innumerable minor struggles between the various groups and factions into which the larger and more embracing classes are often divided. The sections of society whose interests are either really or apparently identical at a given moment, unite themselves more or less completely, and for greater or less periods of time, into various political groups or parties which aim at the satisfaction of those interests.

Political activities, such as legislation, wars, etc., are always directly or indirectly in the interest of the governing class, although, because of the influence of that class on the ideas of society, these are often supported by large masses of the community who have nothing to gain, or might even lose by their enactment.

The ideological manifestations of society such as science, art, philosophy, and religion, while deriving their substance from man's relations with his known environment, have the course of their development largely influenced by the class contests prevailing. They are often used to defend or to attack the ideas of the respective classes.

We see, then, that in History, as in the rest of nature, the law of necessity, of causality, of determinism, holds inexorable sway. Accidents occur, but accident, rightly understood, paradoxical as it may seem, is also governed by necessity. Accidents appear where seemingly disconnected currents of evolution cross, which crossing, although not a necessary outcome of either process considered separately, is, nevertheless, seen to be inevitable when the greater process of which these form subordinate but necessary parts, is reviewed as a whole. Thus it was evidently inevitable that man would at a certain period make pottery, otherwise it would never have happened. But the first crude pottery was probably never deliberately fashioned, and this might properly be regarded as an accidental discovery, looked at from the point of view of man's development alone. Likewise it was not a necessary result of the geological process of the formation of clays that they should be made into pottery. Accident, therefore, like everything else, is a relative matter.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

Mr. Arthur Mee had in "Lloyd's News" for Mar. 26, under the title "A Plain Man's Pulpit," (his portrait was published, presumably to show what a plain man he is) a screed in which he makes this rather startling admission:

"It is a pitiful thing to think of, but thousands of these brave men of ours have better homes in the trenches of Flanders than in the sunless alleys of our Motherland."

Mr. Meeow is a bit late, but no doubt the War Office will accept the tip for a poster entitled: Isn't this worth fighting for?

HISTORY AS A SCIENCE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

III. The Course of History—Continued.

Furthermore, the more division of labour in society grows the more is the personal experience of the individual, especially of those classes with little or no leisure, narrowed down to a particular section of the social environment—that in which he pursues his mode of life. The more, therefore, must he rely for his knowledge of the increasingly greater part of the environment, upon the experience and interpretations of others in the various departments of the rest of the social life. The possibility therefore arises in a society with antagonistic elements for a dominant class to impose, consciously or unconsciously, its conceptions upon a class below it, and in fact we usually find that the prevailing ideas in a given community are those of its ruling class. In fact, it is not uncommon, but quite the contrary, for deliberate distortion of facts to be resorted to in order to keep a class resigned to or even ignorant of its subjection. And, singular to say, this is often done quite sincerely in, so it is thought, the interest of social harmony and progress. Thus the dominant ethical code, the sciences, the philosophy, and the religion considered orthodox in any society are usually those which pander to the interests of the dominating class. Even Aristotle, perhaps the most encyclopedic mind of the ancient world, "quotes with approval the saying of a poet that when a foreigner becomes the slave of a Greek that is only as it should be."

Here, then, in the State force and in what Marx calls the social consciousness, we have two conservative agents, which vary inversely in intensity. The greater the illusion of the subject class as to its real interests and its social status the less the necessity for the application or the threat of physical force to maintain the "status quo," and vice versa. Contrast in this respect the chattel-slave who was openly oppressed and exploited, and whose labour appears entirely unrewarded, with the wage-worker who is exploited under cover of a free contract with his employer to work for a stipulated wage. The essence of the two processes are the same; both are compelled to labour for a master, one by the application or fear of direct physical torment, the other by the certainty of physical torture indirectly applied in the shape of starvation does he do otherwise. In both cases the product of their labour belongs to the master or employer, and both are "rewarded" by a quantity of use-values, either directly, or indirectly in the form of money, which is, on the average, sufficient to maintain them and their offspring in a condition fit enough to meet the requirements of the master class. Nevertheless, while a chattel-slave could be under no illusion as to the fact, character and source of his subjection, the wage-slave, by reason of the supposedly free-contract into which he entered, is easily deluded as to his position in society and his real interest. Hence the superiority, from the masters' point of view, even from this reason alone, of wagedom over chattel-slavery.

We see, then, that the saturation of society with the ideas of its ruling class, supplemented by the power of the State, produces a condition of apparent strength and stability in the social order, at any rate over certain periods. A superficial observer of such a society in its prime, might well be excused if he made the remark, "this social system is grounded on a secure foundation; it is as enduring as are the eternal hills." But the hills are no more eternal, as geology tells us, than the waves of the sea-shore. So in society, however permanent may the social superstructure, over a limited period appear, the essential basis on which this superstructure rises—the conditions of technique and production, like an organism, is ever changing. This evolution of the technical conditions may at times be almost imperceptible, sometimes perhaps so rapid that an innovation becomes obsolete and superseded almost before it has

"The Nemesis of Nations" (page 181), by W. R. Paterson, M.A.

got fairly into use. Be it slow or fast it is sure, and as the past shows, sooner or later overcomes all obstacles.

As the technique, the powers of production, become transformed, the division of labour in society alters also. Side by side with the changing means and methods of production, new functions in the social productive process appear together with the classes which perform these functions.

One of the first effects of this change is seen in the position now occupied by the ruling class. As the division of the necessary social functions gradually alters, the classes of the old regime at first partially, but eventually entirely lose their function in the social economy. While, however, the subjected classes under the old order slowly disappear as they become less and less essential, and the persons composing them become absorbed into the classes newly arising, the old ruling class is enabled to retain its existence and supremacy by reason of its control of the State forces and, to a diminishing degree, its ideological influence; but only for a time. It becomes parasitic, and lives at the expense of society without rendering any useful service in return. When, for instance, owing to the development of industry and commercial relations, the face of Europe assumed a more peaceful aspect, after the turbulent times following the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the Feudal lords, although no longer necessary to defend and protect the producing communities as had been their original social function, still lived on and in many cases became increasingly powerful. On the other hand the serfs gradually became supplanted by, or transformed into, a class of peasant farmers, of handicraftsmen and wage-workers, as division of labour became more marked and money payments more general.

When the germ of the class brought to the fore by the new productive methods first appears, the breach between it and the existing order of society is small. Born out of and under the shelter of the established regime, it at first partakes of the general ideas of that community, with which its interests do not at this stage materially conflict. As its field of operations widens, however, as the mode of production which it represents is more and more perfected and increases in importance in the social economy, it is increasingly found that the existing social relations and institutions hinder the full development and most complete use of these productive powers upon which society more and more relies, and with which its own class interests are bound up. The new class begins to feel these institutions and arrangements as so many fetters upon its freedom, and the control exercised by the politically dominant, but now reactionary class becomes ever more irksome to it, especially as it becomes conscious of its own growing strength and influence. Gradually new concepts awaken in it; what it previously regarded as just and reasonable now appear in the light of its newly found interests as unjust and unreasonable. Every weapon—literature, oratory, science, art, religion—which it can possibly turn against the existing order is seized upon and the social fabric subjected to a relentless criticism. Side by side with the revolt of the rising class, the ruling class representing the existing system uses every effort, and every institution it can summon to justify and to maintain the continuance of its domination and order. Its science is pitted against that of the ascending class; likewise with its religion and its art. Meanwhile, as the influence of its ideas decline, (owing to the fact that they are no longer in line with social progress) it turns to what has always been in reserve—the armed forces—which, through the political machinery, it controls. While the ruling class now becomes more and more reactionary and oppressive, the aims of the rising class are increasingly better defined, as the faults of the old and antiquated social conditions manifest themselves with ever greater distinctness. As these faults become more obvious the aims of the new revolutionary class receive support from all sections of society, although, naturally, only in a small degree from the members of the ruling class itself.

Seeing the impossibility of realising the objects which it desires so long as the governmental machinery is in the hands of the class of reaction, it determines upon the seizure of

the control of the State forces to promote its own interests. The class struggle now assumes its most mature and acute form—the struggle for political supremacy. The character assumed by the struggle will depend upon a variety of factors, among them the existing form of the State, but the outcome is usually, ultimately the same—a victory, perhaps after many attempts which fail, for the forces of progress, by the revolutionary class assuming more or less completely the directorship of society, and the consequent casting from the seat of power of the old ruling class.

After the high-tide of the revolution has subsided, leaving high, dry, and exultant the revolutionary class, this class takes immediate steps to secure its ascendancy, and following upon this a wholesale sweeping away or modification of the fossilized social institutions—legal, political and intellectual—of the previous order, which it had so much hated, is accomplished. Its own form of property being now predominant, the social relations which flow therefrom are sanctified by force and result in the institution of new legal and political forms which maintain or promote its own interests. Those institutions of the past capable of being used to advantage under the new conditions are retained either entire, or, where necessary, modified; and thus through a transformation more or less rapid of the social structure a new historical epoch is entered upon.

Sound and stable as this may at first appear, forces analogous to that which undermined the preceding system and caused its downfall—the changes in wealth production—still remain unceasingly at work. Sooner or later the social superstructure will, from being the conditions of progress and economic advancement, turn again into agents of stagnation, and will be inexorably swept away.

We see, therefore, that the evolution of human society presents itself as a series of stages or eras each having many distinct characters and following in a necessary succession like geological strata. But, as Marx says, these "epochs in the history of society are no more separated from each other by hard and fast lines of demarcation, than are geological epochs," for each goes through a cycle of changes which interlink it with those which precede it and those which follow it, and which may be compared to that undergone by an animal during its life history. First a preparatory or embryonic period in the body of the older system, then, as its growth demands freedom of development (which freedom, unlike that of the animal, always means the ultimate death of its parent) it is "born." At length it reaches its prime and, lastly, dies in the birth-pangs of its offspring, the preparation of which is an inevitable product of its own internal development. In every social system, therefore, there exists in rudiment the forces which will bring about its destruction.

It must not, of course, be thought that the cycle of changes above outlined is the course rigidly adhered to by all societies during their evolution. It merely represents the process which these societies tend to follow under normal conditions. But there exists room for all manner of variations from the main tendency. This is especially noticeable in cases affected by conquests or emigration. For instance, take the South African colonies, where so long as farming only predominated the Boer government was quite adequate, and the entire farmer class, both Boer and Uitlander, were comparatively satisfied. But when the country was found to be rich in mineral wealth, a class of speculative Europeans, headed by unscrupulous adventurers of the type of Cecil Rhodes, were attracted. The gold magnates, finding, however, that with the government of the country in the hands of the farmers their interests were not catered for, sought the backing of the State representative of their interest—the British Government—resulting in the Boer War and the smashing of the Boer republics, and the institution of a form of government suited to their interests.

Looked at from this viewpoint, the history of those societies in which private property and classes exist, appears as the outcome of the desire on the part of these respective classes to satisfy what they believe to be their own needs.

Continued on page 55.

"Capital," p. 366, Vol. 1. English edition.

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 “Canadian Forward” (Ontario).
 “North West Worker” (Washington).
 “Cotton's Weekly” (Canada).
 “Appeal to Reason” (Kansas).
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess, but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the best class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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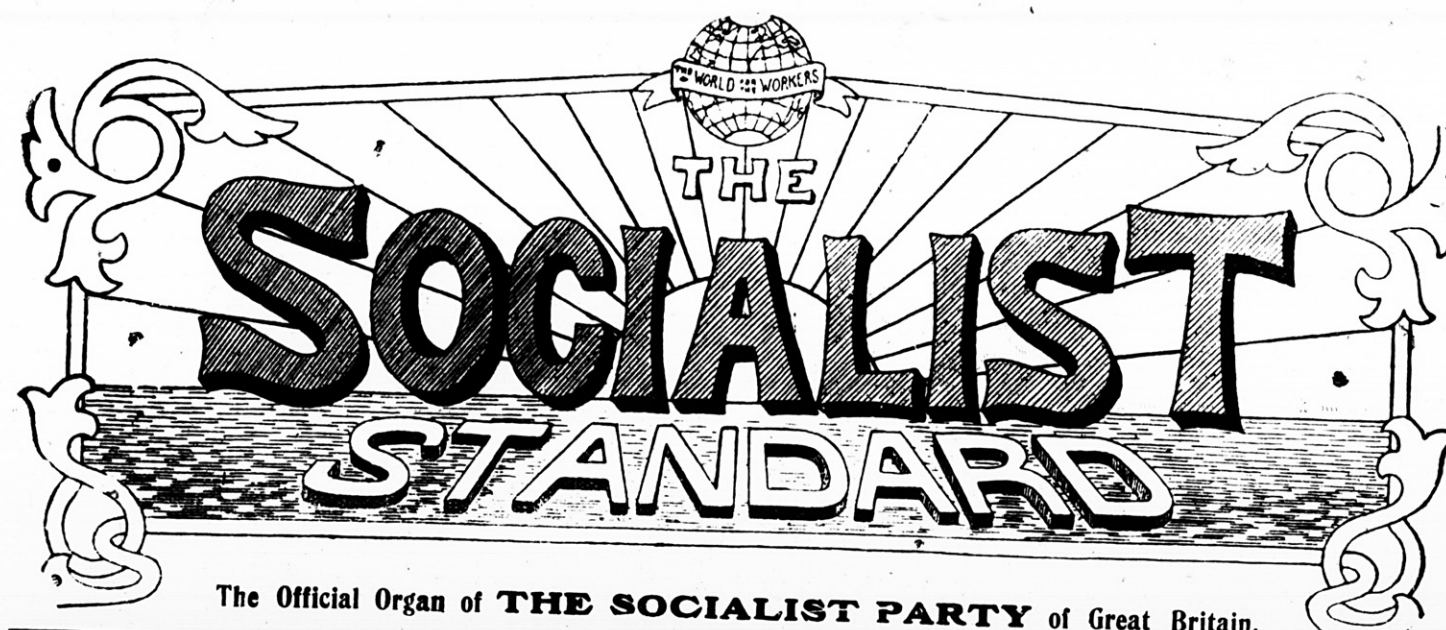
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LONDON, MAY, 1916.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

VIOLENCE AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

R. HUNTER'S REFORM BIAS EXPOSED.

Every Socialist recognises the complete futility of individual or mob violence as a working-class weapon, in face of the overwhelming power of the State. The fact that the "propaganda of the deed," so dear to the Anarchists or direct-actionists, has always played into the hands of reaction is a commonplace. The Labour movement in all lands passes through despairing stages of such activity; and it is only as its futility becomes thoroughly realised, and the true nature of the problem which faces the worker is understood, that the worship of mere disorder or violence is outgrown. Its very hopelessness shows it to be a gesture of despair. It is the expression of economic and political weakness, disorganisation, and ignorant passion.

But this is not to say that the question of force has not an important part to play in the struggle for Socialism; for when the need and time arrive the workers cannot hesitate to use force against force. It does mean, however, that the force to be used cannot be mere individual or mob violence. It must be the organised might of the whole working class, rooted in economic needs, and based on knowledge rather than on blind hate, and used because essential to complete the task of emancipation.

In essence, moreover, the success of a revolution depends, not upon mere force, but upon economic necessity. The role of force is secondary to this. And it is only because the economic necessities of the capitalist system pave the way for the working-class advance to power, that Socialists are enabled to use legality in their educational and organising work; it is only because they are the expression of economic needs and forces that the workers have the opportunity of advancing from strength to strength until their power is sufficient to finally wrest from their masters the major force of the State.

This being the case, it is evident that any account of the role hitherto played by violence in the Labour movement must resolve itself into a record of the activities of men ignorant or doubtful of the economic trend, distrustful of the workers themselves, and filled with a conceit that foolishly credits miraculous powers to an "intellectual" few. And in a book just published by Messrs. Routledge* entitled "Violence and the Labour Movement," by R. Hunter, this fact is clearly shown. By far the most entertaining section of the book is that recounting the titanic struggle on the question of Anarchy that raged within and around the old International. Another section that is of particular interest is that on "The Oldest Anarchy," dealing in particular with the lawlessness of American capitalists, and with that

* "VIOLENCE AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT," by ROBERT HUNTER, author of "Poverty," etc. George Routledge, London; The Macmillan Co., New York, 1916. 400 pp. cloth. 2s. 6d. net.

peculiarly American problem, the hire of armed bands of private detectives, such as the Pinkerton thugs. Apart from these interesting points there is little that is new to anyone who has digested Pleckanoff's little masterpiece, "Anarchism and Socialism."

But that is not all that has to be said about the book. The Socialist has a bone to pick with the author. Mr. Hunter vituperates any usefulness his book may have by special pleading of the most insidious kind in favour of the attitude of reformist organisations such as that jelly-fish, The Socialist (!) Party of America, of which he is an ornament. And it is significant in this connection that he suppresses the undoubted fact—urged with great force by Liebknecht in "No Compromise"—that Anarchy is directly fostered by the anti-Socialist policy of compromise, confusion, and political charlatanism which renders worse than useless most of the so-called Socialist and Labour parties of the world. Indeed, to make it appear that the pseudo-Socialism which he favours is in line with Marxian principles he is reduced to misrepresenting those principles and to distorting the words of Marx and Engels. A few instances may be given, not as appealing to the authority of Marx—which appears to be a cult mainly in evidence among those who distort his teaching—but on the ground of appeal to the demonstrable truth of the scientific principles of Socialism, which transcend any personality.

On page 139 the author refers to Marx and Engels outlining in the Communist Manifesto:

Certain measures which, in their opinion, should stand foremost in the program of labour, all of them having to do with some modification of the institution of property. In order to achieve these reforms, and eventually to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, they urge the formation of labour parties as soon as proper preparations have been made and the time is ripe for effective class action.

Now the truth regarding these measures is that, far from being those which, in the opinion of Marx and Engels, "should stand foremost in the program of labour," they are expressly referred to in their joint preface to the Manifesto as being "antiquated" owing to the vast changes that have taken place, and therefore

no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day.

Mr. Hunter's first point, therefore, is definitely contradicted; but a far more important point remains to be dealt with. It will be observed that Marx and Engels speak of them not as being "reforms" at all, but as *revolutionary* measures. And so they are. They are suggested measures to be taken by the victorious workers only when the revolution is an accom-

plished fact. Mr. Hunter carefully conceals this truth. It brands his party as non-Socialist. But the facts are entirely beyond dispute. Marx and Engels say in the Manifesto regarding those very measures that:

the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

THE PROLETARIAT WILL USE ITS POLITICAL SUPREMACY, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as a ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production. These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

Consequently, Mr. Hunter has distinctly falsified the Socialist position. Such measures are in no sense of the word "reforms." They give no possible basis for any reform program. They give no support whatever to the long lists of vote-catching reform nostrums professedly realisable while the capitalist class are in power. And they would be "very differently worded to-day."

The measures necessary when the workers have won their class battle can, indeed, only be *definitely* decided upon when that moment arrives. The only possible program for a Socialist party is Socialism; and its only "immediate aim" is the straight fight for the conquest of the State in order to *begin* the transformation of capitalist society into Socialism. As the founders of scientific Socialism state in the Manifesto itself, their "immediate aim" is the "formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat." Any party, indeed, whose immediate aim is less than this, is, by that same token, not a Socialist party.

In some instances the author's attempt to graft his reform twaddle upon the authority of Marx and Engels is distinctly amusing, as when he says:

Marx considered the chief work of the International to be the building up of a working-class political movement to obtain laws favourable to labour. Furthermore, he was of the opinion that such work was of a revolutionary nature.

Seeing that, as Marx said, the conquest of political power by the workers is the *first step*, it is obvious that the obtaining of "laws favourable to labour" must be "work of a revolutionary nature." But that is not what Mr. Hunter wants his readers to understand; and on page

150 he says regarding the attitude of Marx toward the co-operative movement:

Arguing that co-operative labour should be developed to national dimensions and be fostered by State funds, he urges working-class political action as the means to achieve this end.

Then he quotes Marx's own words on this:

To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.

Marx's own comment is a sufficient reply to Mr. Hunter's insidious attempt to misrepresent him. So far is it from being true that Marx, as Mr. Hunter implies, favoured the working class diverting their energies to the development of co-operation to national dimensions within capitalism with the aid of State funds, that he distinctly stated the contrary. In his Letter on Unity sent to Bracke on the eve of the Gotha Congress Marx said on this very matter:

The workers seek to establish on a footing of social production, and in the first place, in so far as it concerns them, on a footing of national production, the conditions of collective production; but what does this mean other than that they work for the overthrow of present conditions of production? And this has nothing in common with the foundation of co-operative societies with the aid of the State.

Regarding existing co-operative societies, they have value only in so far as they are the creation of the workers themselves, to which neither governments nor capitalists come in aid.

Let Mr. Hunter twist that if he can!

For the rest, it is obvious that where the political elements of the class struggle are lacking these must first be obtained in order that the revolutionary struggle may proceed, and because the immediate aim of the Socialist Party must be the conquest of political power. In no sense do the pro-capitalist proclivities of Mr. Hunter and his kind obtain support from the founders of scientific Socialism. From the principles themselves it is clear that a Socialist party cannot be a reform party. It must devote its energies to organising the workers as a class for the capture of the citadel of the State. Only when that is accomplished can the workers pass any measures at all. Until then all reforms are "gifts" from, and in the interest of, the ruling class. Consequently the Socialist Party must be revolutionary first and last.

If the early chapters of Mr. Hunter's book, dealing with the struggles around the International, are, as has been said, interesting, it must at the same time be confessed that while the author had the material and opportunity for the production of a Socialist classic, he has failed to do more than produce what can only be characterised as a "red-herring." The last chapter, indeed, contains elements of broad farce. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of his so-called Socialist standpoint. He lumps together the votes cast for the Labour Party of Great Britain, the Labour Party of Australia, the Social Democrats of Germany, and the other reform parties of the world in a grand total of eleven million votes for Socialism! It has no significance for him that over one half the world most of this vast army for "Socialism" vanished into the "dug-outs" of patriotism at a single blare of the bugle, and that the other half is getting ready to follow suit! His rhetoric is proof against unpleasant truth. He continues:

Where shall we find in all history another instance of the organisation in less than half a century of eleven million people into a compact force for the avowed purpose of peacefully and legally taking possession of the world? They have refused to hurry; they have declined all short cuts . . . they have declined the way of compromise, of fusions, of alliances . . .

And so on in a dithyrambic crescendo of hysterical absurdity until at the end one sets down the book in a burst of laughter.

Indeed, the pitiful reality is so tragically different to the author's gaudy imagery that one hastens to laugh in order to avoid tears.

F. C. W.

From Handicraft to Capitalism,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE 1/6

CRABBED AGE AND YOUTH.

A DEVINE COMEDY OF THE WATFORD TRIBUNAL.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Lord Clarendon	Chairman.
Mister Hudson	Clerk to the Council.
Mister Longley	Draper.
Mister Clarke	House Builder.
Mister Solomons	Photographer.
Mister Gorle	Solicitor, Conscriptivist, Labour Leader and acquainted with the King of the Belgians.

Crowd of N.C.F. men, Comrades, Constables, and attendants.

The Bushey and Watford comrades did in the month of March appear before the local Tribunal with the now familiar result.

The chairman was the Lord and the Military Representative, symbolically enough, was on the left hand of the Lord. A Draper sat next to a House Builder and a Solicitor next to a Professional Photographer.

To the right of the Lord's chosen people were portraits of two old-time councillors done by a Bushey painter, who, when he has no commissions from local legislators, will condescend to paint angels for church windows. These pictures were as interesting to artists as pathology is to humanitarians. No cantankerous sentiment could be detected on their placid faces, for when the local man took up his brushes there was no European War and all the Conscientious Objectors had been robbed of their telescopes and books and burned and decapitated many centuries ago.

But I must not digress now for I am come to the point when the Lord spoke. I had arrogantly suggested on my appeal paper that what was valuable and precious in Art and Science and Literature had emanated from intellectual research; and that militarism either supported or created all those things hostile to a free and secure existence. Before I came to these chosen of the Masters I had suggested that intellectual progress and military pursuits are antagonistic. Then when the Lord asked me if I was a Quaker I saw that my policy and sentiments still remained misunderstood, so I rose to explain that I had accepted the communistic principles of Karl Marx, and consequently believed that the world could not progress towards a beautiful ideal of society or a scientific one until the nations federated on an amiable basis. But while these words were yet unspoken the Solicitor, with prophetic acumen and godly insight, denounced them as "Propaganda," while the Chairman said he was there to "elicit facts and not listen to speeches." This last indiscreet sentence must now pass as ignorance. This is the more lamentable as had it read, "elicit facts and not listen to evidence" it would have passed with the public, not as bias and illiteracy, but as a decisive, rich, and becoming paradox. I had further evidence to show that the literature of Greece had done more for humanity than the wars of Greece; that Van Tromp, with all his magnificence did not do so much for Holland as Rembrandt and Discartus; that the Spaniards' best day was not when the Armada was loosened but when Valasquez took up his palette. The Lord waved me down. How could I rise from my insignificance. I only had on my side the lessons of ancient decapitated scientists and charcoal heretics while the Tribunal were greatly inspired and strengthened by the methods of Torquemada. Their actions taught me that the man with estates was in the place of Democracy; the Camera Man in the place of the Artist; the Attorney in the place of the Economist; and the Draper of Bodies in the place of the Humanitarians. Before the Tribunals the appellant with artistic ideas is dismissed, the man with rheumatism postponed, and the wine merchant exempt from military service. Then after having stopped me speaking in my own defence one had the temerity to ask if I objected to bloodshed.

Our comrade Russ sat next before the Tribunal and his case was dealt with in the same clean and aristocratic spirit. They "elicited" genealogical facts about his grandmother and partly forgotten brothers; details which are most valuable to any analysis of scientific ideals or the individual conscience. But while on the side of lineage the examination was most wise and thorough, there are three small points to which the Tribunal were inexcusably indifferent. I admit that a consideration of the forgotten details would in no way have altered the result of the trial, for in all cases the conduct and decision of the Tribunal showed great forethought and preparation. In no instance can I remember a hasty and spontaneous injustice being done to the appellant, for the Socialists were only dismissed after careful consultation with the versatile Labour Leader, while the Religionists were dismissed only after the Chairman's chat with the Christian member. The first of these three unconsidered trifles in Russ's case was that he wore a black scarf of crepe de chine, which should have been noted by at least one member of the Tribunal for its photographic possibilities; the second, that sometimes in the summer he slept in the open at night, which should have been elicited and condemned by the Builder; the third, that as a Socialist he would not fight in a capitalist war, which should have been considered by all, as in this assertion, all were alike equally implicated and condemned. But if we review the matter with a milder and less intolerant mind we will understand that if Russ did not know what parts of his Marxian economics were a heritage from his grandmother, his own statement of International Faith is, in the ten or twelve eyes of the Tribunal, robbed of half its value. But his trial ended well, for, as he declared he would not do medical work and assist the wounded, the Tribunal considerably gave him non-combatant duties in which he will only have to help the injured.

When our comrade Hudson sat next in the chair the modern God filled his pipe and the Clerk read the appeal. It was a reiteration of the communists' ideal of Wealth Production. The Lord asked what denomination he belonged to. Now with myself, as I have a pale face, there was some pertinence in the Quaker question, but with Hudson it is different. He is not sickly or peevish; there is not a trace of suffering on his face. It would have been more relevant to have asked the noble Lord if he was the only support his wife had for ask a poet if he sold matches. Our comrade replied that he was an atheist. The Christian Draper sniffed. A man here who would not submit to Kitchener and denied the authority. "You are one of them who resent all kind of control then, eh?" he said. "Not all control," our comrade replied, "only such as you have." The Chairman was indignant to hear a youthful idealist give such a report to a shopkeeper who sold the best linen within the farthing of a shilling in the town; to a man who has distributed more bibles and advertisements and subscribed to more church organs in a year than the applicant would do in fifty years. In these days of heresy and commerce one can forgive a taunt to God, pass over a slight to Kitchener, but what Chairman of what Tribunal can pass over an Internationalist's insult to a homely employer. He cautioned our comrade and later dismissed the case.

The next judgment was to be upon our comrade Wilkins. He too was an Internationalist. Had the first been the only one of the day the idea could have been discredited and regarded as isolated Quixotism and futile faith. The poor, bewildered master of the show more-over learned that this Socialist was a Monist? "What is a Monist?" Alas! my Lord, you have given Oxford over to ignominy; the hallowed pile is desecrated. In the past, we are told, much damage and havoc was done with the jaw-bone of an ass, but it was infinitesimal compared with that done to the gray and hoary university with the jaw-bone of our Tribunal Lord. Alas! poor Chairman, you came, you told me, to "elicit facts," but you remain to complete your education. Although comrade Wilkins explained on his appeal paper that he could more effectively assassinate Rothschild with a new ideal or a new economic law than with an old hatchet—although unlike an Indian God he did not wear a necklace of human bones or a girdle of human

skulls, they still enquired whether he was prepared to take life. He replied that he did not believe in the sacredness of the individual existence, only in the sacredness of humanity, and would therefore help to establish Socialism by the ballot if possible but by force if force was essential. "We dismiss your case, Mister Wilkins." As the lordly judge spoke his loyal mouth pommies to the Escutcheon. "You may appeal to the County Tribunal," he said. "To the County Press Gang," our comrade retorted with such truth and emphasis that it became quite inaudible to the Newspaper Correspondent.

There was a long lull. The last of the pearls had been cast before the Tribunal.

The Draper demanded that the room should be cleared of the public. This was assented to by the Labour Leader, and endorsed by the Lord.

No one moved.

Then in this Earthly Paradise the Provincial God's still, small voice with a slight Oxford accent, said "Let there be police," and there were police. But this latter day Lord's behests are not so instantaneously obeyed as formerly, for his wand is only a telephone and his angels wear thick-soled boots.

So there was still time left for further heresy and the "Red Flag" was sung, and just as it ended the Constables entered the room and faced the perplexed Tribunal and those pigment Councillors on the walls, whose pensive eyes are fixed on the distant utopian Watford when each of the ten thousand inhabitants was docile and diligent and none had dreamed of Marxian Economics.

H. M. M.

WE HAVE THE HONOUR OF BEING CHUCKED OUT OF CAPITALIST LIBRARIES.

Several months ago the Manchester Branch of the S.P.G.B. succeeded after a little effort in getting the "Socialist Standard" inserted in all the Manchester Public Libraries, although on the other hand the Committee for the Stretford district refused to exhibit our paper. Of course, permission was only given by Manchester on condition that the copies were presented.

All went well until the following letter was received by the branch:

Reference Library,
Piccadilly,
Manchester.
3rd April, 1916.

Dear Sir,

I have to request that the supply of copies of the "Socialist Standard," hitherto sent for the Libraries by the Manchester Branch of the Socialist Party, may be discontinued.

Yours truly,
C. W. SETTON,
Chief Librarian.

Here it is necessary to point out that each week the Manchester Libraries Committee purchase copies of the "Labour Leader" for insertion in the reading-rooms, whereas they will not have our paper even when given to them and with the postage paid. There is nothing the master class fear so much as the spread of real Socialist knowledge. They delight in seeing the workers deluded and confused with the other pille, for therein lies their (the masters') safety.

All workers recognising the class struggle will draw their own conclusions as to the relative value to the working class of the two papers above mentioned.

H. C. A.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Freedom" (London).
"The Call" (New York).
"Canadian Forward" (Ontario).
"North West Worker" (Washington).
"Cotton Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International Socialist" (Sydney).
"Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"Socialist" (Melbourne).

PATRIOTISM IN EXCELSIS

[The following account of a meeting held somewhere in England has been submitted to us for publication. It is possible that there is some mistake, and that it was intended for the "Daily Mail," but we have decided to publish the report in order to show that we are willing to hear all sides.]

Mr., the great patriotic campaigner, spoke at . . . last evening to a crowded and enthusiastic audience on the need for a more vigorous and business-like prosecution of the war. Many personal friends of the speaker were assembled on the platform, and their surprise, if not gratification, at the oratorical success of the speaker of the evening was, in confidence, freely expressed. Every reference to the noble fellows in the trenches was greeted by the attentive audience with thunders of applause, while allusions to the night of the Empire, the heroic Sons Beyond the Seas, the British Navy, the glorious aims and efforts of the Allies, the Rights of Small Nations, Liberty, Honour, Civilisation, and His Gracious Majesty, roused a frenzy of emotion that brought a sob into the throat of many a stoic man perilously near military age. The speaker frankly confessed that his freely tendered advice to the Government had been ignored since the beginning of the war, and attributed many of the country's difficulties to that fact. He made a slashing attack upon the ineptitude of the Coalition, and firmly but modestly informed his audience what he would do were he Prime Minister. "Turn the lot out," was his rapturously received slogan. "All ancient generals should be scrapped." "All shirkers should be shot." "Every man of military age should be compelled to do his bit." At this point a slight interruption occurred. "How old are you?" shouted a member of the audience. The speaker immediately withered the interrupter with his scorn. "You are a pre-German," he began, but his further remarks were drowned in the hubbub which arose. The interjector was the centre of a struggling group, these behind pushing the others into the struggle, and working the scrimmage as a whole in the direction of the exit, upon reaching which a moment's silence ensued, to be shattered into fragments by the violent bang of the clashing door. The thrill of shuddering dread which followed was immediately dissipated as the speaker resumed his excellent theme. The liberties which Englishmen have won, he maintained, must at all costs be preserved. Neither Hun nor traitor in our midst would be allowed to destroy the birthright of Englishmen. Despite organised interruption Freedom of Speech (cheers) would be maintained. The Rights of Small Nations (cheers) were sacred, and if Greece and Roumania did not soon make up their minds on this point it would be made up for them. Bulgaria must be taught such a lesson that it will never dare to do it again. England and her great and glorious allies (cheers) had already rendered invaluable assistance to Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro and he could say without fear of contradiction that without that assistance the position of those small nations would not be what it is to-day (cheers). The heroism shown by our countrymen against a cowardly and white-livered enemy was beyond all praise. (At this point there was further interruption with scrimmage as before, during which an excited individual was heard above the din shouting: "I have lost my son fighting the Germans, and it is an insult to our brave men to say the enemy are cowards." His shouts being eventually drowned by cries of pro-German! Turnout! Chuckin' d'stairs!—which was apparently done.) The speaker, continuing, said that the enthusiasm of the people for the ruthless prosecution of the war to the bitter end (cheers) showed no signs of diminution. He mixed with many men over military age, or otherwise regretfully prevented from shouldering the rifle, and all were unflinchingly resolved upon sacrificing the last man (cheers). Conscientious objectors were not fit to live, and should be shot (cheers). If absolutely every single man were not taken, need he remind his audience what the result would be? They, men with responsibilities, would be called

upon to fill the places left vacant. The Government, therefore, must be made to keep its experience agreed with the statements published in a morning paper recently, that those hopelessly injured were, nevertheless, the very ones who were anxious to return to the front. That should be an example to us all. (Cheers.)

pledge (loud cheers, shouts of "Which one?" Disturbance). This matter of the single man, the speaker resumed, was a vital one to all present. It affected them as men and as taxpayers. The married soldiers' wives and children were a burden to the State (commotion). He had talked with wounded soldiers and his

The women, too, were splendid. Young and beautiful girls had cheerfully sacrificed their "best boys" on the altar of their country (cheers). What mattered the loss of a lover so long as the country was safe and the correct thing had been done? Khaki was rightly the fashionable colour, and no self-respecting girl would be out of it. In munition works also the heroism of the women had put men to shame. They had saved the country and the country owed them a debt it could never repay (cheers, interrupted by shouts of "Sweaters!" "Cartridges 2d. an hour!" "Ruining the women!" "Shut up!" "Turnout!" Scrimmage and exit as before).

The Government, continued the orator, was looked to to prosecute the war to an early and successful conclusion. The country was absolutely united (cheers). The Government had the undivided support of the whole nation; the whole of the people were behind it (cheers), but its failure, its incompetence, its fatal hesitation and corruption made a change essential. He did not venture to say of what that change should consist. He left that to those who knew him. But all pledges must be kept (commotion). Young men slackers must be taken to the last man, or justice would not be done to the married (cheers). In the first place all the wide-spread treachery and slackness within our gates must be stamped out. Is the Government afraid? (Cheers.) Secondly, Prussian militarism—"and when I say Prussian I mean Prussian"—must be absolutely crushed and the high spirit of every Englishman must be preserved to flourish and bear fruit and be a shining light, a shield and a sword to countless generations yet unborn; a birthright that shall strike terror into the heart of the Hun and show him by its traditions and majesty, by its determination, valour and strength, that Englishmen will recoil from no sacrifice, but will, if need be, force every man that can be spared into the trenches to die, if necessary, in the fight for honour and the freedom of the world Empire. We shall not sheathe the sword until the German menace to our prosperity and supremacy be swept away, until her trade be abolished and her power to trouble the peaceful harmony of our world's markets be for ever and ever ended. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

At the conclusion the chairman made graceful reference to the fervid eloquence and unselfish patriotism of the speaker, and pointed out that one of the chief objects of the meeting was to secure further recruits for the prosecution of the war. An awkward silence ensued that was at length relieved by a member of the audience proposing the following resolution, which was carried unanimously.

"That this meeting pledges itself to support the unflinching prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, and calls upon the Government also to do its share by fulfilling its pledge and thereby relieving the anxiety now felt by many men."

W.

"SOCIALISM

DETAILS

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

—:—

fr 1/6

"triumphant Labour Party" tinkers with these evils by "Excise Acts" and "Bounties Acts," penalising the employers who do not pay wages "approved by courts of Parliament" or giving bounties to those who do which, of course, leaves things as they were. For "the Australian workmen have set up courts of Industrial Arbitration, which fixed wages in an ever-increasing number of industries, and speaking generally, the basis upon which courts fix wages is that of a satisfactory standard of living."

Here, as elsewhere, it is bred in the brain of the worker that he is a wage-slave for all time, that there must be capitalists to exploit and wage-workers to be exploited: that without exploitation there can be no production of wealth, and all the other lies and fallacies that the ruling class seek to impose on the workers of the world. Because they believe in the permanence of capitalism, because they do not understand Socialism, the Australian workers have allowed a few trumpety demagogues to seize political power in their name. The allegiance of these demagogues to the ruling class was never in doubt. They could not serve the working class because that class did not understand what was necessary for their emancipation, and therefore could not support them; and not only so, these demagogues had not the capacity or the will to teach.

So the workers of Australia were led up a blind alley. They are told that they control the political machine. Do they? Grant that nominally they do, nevertheless they manipulate it against themselves. They organised for control, but organised without knowledge of their true interests and aims. Their work still lies before them. They cannot get rid of poverty and slavery without getting rid of capitalism. They have to get out of the blind alley of the commercial system, to unlearn the capitalist philosophy that has been bred in their brains; they have to realise the full meaning and object of the class struggle, in short, to learn—Socialism.

F. F.

BY THE WAY.

While exhortations to economy are frequently made to the organised workers of this land and posters are lavishly displayed on every hand telling us to wear our old boots and clothes, &c., (which we do from sheer necessity), one finds a great difficulty in noticing any regard being paid to this advice by members of that class which neither toils nor spins, but yet, even in war time, manages to live, move and have its being under somewhat similar conditions to those which obtain in the piping time of peace. Large portions of the daily newspapers are occupied in extolling the beauties of the latest creations in ladies' headgear, at prices which many of us slaves have to put in several weeks' work to obtain. Afternoon coats, as per sketch, we are told are really cheap at 5/- guineas. Ye gods, my fellow workers, are you content to slave from morning till late at night in order to keep in idleness and luxury an indolent, parasitic class? You produce the best and yourselves use the shoddy. Think it out. Shake off the chains which bind you, and join in the fight for Socialism—the only fight that will benefit the world's workers. Arise from your slumbers!

There recently appeared in the Press an announcement of great importance to the working class—that class the members of which now receive 30 shillings on their coming in and 5 shillings on their going out of this (as our holy Joe friend would say) "vide of tears." Provided always the necessary payments have been made in the first case, and in the latter that you are able to "keep on shuffling along" to the allotted span of three score years and ten.

A week or two since we were informed that strawberries at a guinea a box are one of the super-luxuries of war time, and the announcement goes on to say:

The fruit has been on sale at this price in the west-end, each box containing about 50 strawberries nestled separately in a leafy wrapper. For a basket of 20, 7s. 6d. was asked yesterday. "Daily Chronicle," 18.3.16.

One can imagine the rush that would be made on receipt of this news by those who were described by Mr. McKenna at the meeting of

Organised Labour and National Economy as being in receipt of "large wages" and which had been "lavishly spent."

Yet another war tragedy is at hand. Under the heading of "Broken by the War: Wounded soldier and mother live on 12s. 2d. a week." Although we read from time to time of the great interest taken in "our heroes" by our politicians and how their sympathies are directed to "these hard cases," time after time fresh illustrations come to light of the generosity of a grateful country. One of the most recent is that referred to above which goes on to say:

It was stated at a Battersea inquest yesterday that the man joined the R.F.A. at the outbreak of the war, and, after having been twice wounded, was granted a pension of 1s. 8d. a week. His mother earned 7s. 6d. a week and the two lived on 12s. 2d. a week. The family were too poor to pay for his burial. "Daily Chronicle," 5.4.16.

In the notes of the Parliamentary Correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" a short time since, the writer, in dealing with the question of the recruiting of married men with money and the Government's intention in regard to their liabilities, made a very significant admission. He stated that:

The grievance is essentially a middle-class one, as the standard of life in the homes of manual workers is on the whole satisfactorily maintained by the scale of separation allowances in respect of the wife and the children. These allowances have no relation to the class of men who have heavy rents and insurance payments to pay, and it is precisely this class that bulks largely in the residue of unenlisted married men.

Hush! Hold your breath. It hath at last come to pass that one who knows has spoken, and he admits that a number of those who are supporters of the capitalist system of society and who have money have not yet gone into the army. But that is not all. He further adds:

but this particular section of the community is not largely represented in the men already serving. "Daily Chronicle," 2.4.16.

Who are the slackers now? No doubt by "middle class" men is chiefly meant the smaller capitalists; but what is true of the smaller fry is even more true of the bigger fish. They are "doing their bit" chiefly by "doing" the workers. The wage-slave, who has nothing to fight for, has to fight for those that have. And how the hiring liars of the capitalist class contradict themselves! On the one hand we are told that the worker is, in civil life, "prosperous" and well paid, and on the other, as this parliamentary scribe admits, the standard of comfort in his home is "satisfactorily maintained" by the miserable army separation allowances!

Of late we have heard much of one W. M. Hughes, who is paying a visit to this country—obviously in the interest of his paymasters—for we are informed that he is here for the purpose of negotiating matters of business and trade on behalf of Australia.

In times past we have heard much of the "beneficent labour legislation" in Australia, which land has been described by emigration agents as a veritable El Dorado for the workers. A recent specimen of "Labourism" is to hand, and from an Australian paper I will quote one extract. A series of Regulations are printed under the heading of "War Precautions Extended." The choicest of which is as follows:

28c. The printer or publisher of any newspaper, periodical, or other publication shall not, without the permission of an officer of the censorship staff (1), print or publish any statement to the effect or from which it can be inferred that any alteration, addition, or omission has been made by the censorship; or (2) print any matter which has been submitted to the censorship in such a way as to show or suggest that any alteration, addition, or omission has been made by the censorship; or (3) print or publish any statement to the effect that publication of such matter has been forbidden. "The Socialist," Melbourne, 1.2.16. A paper that has suffered severely from the censor.

After having well digested this morsel, one is inclined to the belief that "Labour government" goes even further in matters of repression than Austria, Germany or England. Australia seems the only place where it is a crime to even suggest that the censor has gagged one.

The Scott.

HISTORY AS A SCIENCE

A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

IV. Past, Present, and Future.

Speculations as to the future development of society have been part of the "stock-in-trade" of many philosophers and historians of the past, but at no period have they been more common than at the present time. The vast developments of science, of the means of production and of international communication have opened up wondrous vistas hitherto undreamt of for the imaginative play of the prophetically inclined, and the transformation of the technical conditions proceeds now at a rate never before realised, and forces itself upon the attention of even the superficial. But unless such speculations are based upon and guided by a clear understanding of the course of past social evolution and upon a recognition of the social forces which have underlain that past progress and exist to-day, they must of necessity be nothing more than chimerical utopias.

The accuracy of a science in any sphere of investigation is well gauged by the confidence with which forecasts can be made and the extent to which they are fulfilled. Astronomy, as is well known, has long since reached a stage of prophetic exactitude in many of its branches—in its prophecies of the occurrence of eclipses, transits, and other celestial phenomena, and the other natural sciences are developing toward a similar accuracy. Let us see what can be done in this respect in the complex and difficult field of evolutionary sociology.

If the theory of History which we have herein outlined is correct (and it has yet to be shown that it is otherwise), we see that while in the ultimate all social history is but the result of the action and reaction one upon the other of man and his environment, yet the prime intermediate forces of social advancement are to be found in the mobile character of the artificial means whereby man satisfies his requirements; in other words, his economic conditions of existence. The social organisation is largely conditioned by the relations entered into in the production process; and these relations upon which rises the social superstructure, tend to become continually adapted to the technical powers of production prevailing. While in classless societies this adaptation of institutions takes place uniformly, or in other words, in the same ratio and at the same rate as the technical conditions change, in class-divided communities the conservative or reactionary interests of certain classes tend to deter or hold back artificially this continual adaptation, so that, therefore, the legal, political, and intellectual superstructure may become estranged from and contradictory to the technical productive conditions prevailing, resulting, sooner or later, in a more or less rapid revolution as the class or classes economically injured by this state of affairs become sufficiently conscious of their position and strong enough to contest and overthrow the political domination of the class in power. The active human factor is therefore seen to be the class struggle which is fermented by the dynamic character of the productive process, which in turn is conditioned mainly by the continual enlargement and perfection of the powers and means of production over which man has control. The question therefore arises to what extent are these phenomena operative in modern society.

It is a commonplace fact that classes exist to-day, and it is also generally recognised that the progressive improvement of the means of production continues now at a speed hitherto unparalleled. If we can follow the effects of this technical progress upon the economic life of society; if we can find out its influence upon the various classes which compose society, and upon the community as a whole, we shall be fairly on the road toward understanding the trend of evolution in society to-day.

Modern society, that is that commonly referred to as "capitalist society," is based on commodity production, wage labour, and competition, thus differing from all previous systems, in which these phenomena, where they existed at all, did so sporadically and in a subordinate manner.

The primary classes in present day society are first, a capitalist class owning, either individually or in groups, means of producing wealth, such as land, machinery, factories, etc., and under the form of *capital*, that is, in order to obtain a profit or income without producing themselves; secondly, a working class or proletariat, which so far as means of production are concerned, are destitute of property, and who in order to live produce wealth for the capitalists, and with the capitalists' means of production, in return for a wage. This wage is obtained in competition among the workers, and represents the market price of their bodily energy or labour-power, which, under capitalism is bought and sold as a commodity.

Let us now briefly trace the growth of these various classes so as to see how they evolved to their present status in society. This investigation will materially help us to understand the trend of their present development.

In the Middle Ages the development of industry, and commodity production giving rise to commerce, resulted in the gradual rise from among the handicraft workers of the towns, of a special class of merchants. The geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century resulting in the colonising of America and in the Cape route to India and the Orient, gave a great impetus to trade and enabled the merchant class to extend vastly the domain of their activities and influence. It also, however, resulted in shifting the "centre of gravity," commercially speaking, from Italy and the Mediterranean, where flourished Venice and Genoa, to the Atlantic ports, and the rise of these simultaneously with the decline of the former. The handicraft producers, fettered as they were both by their mode of production and by the restrictions of the guilds, were unable to cope with the ever-increasing demands made upon them by the expanding commerce.

Handicraft gave way to division of labour in the factories set up mainly on their own account by the merchants themselves. Division and subdivision of labour more and more made the skill of the craftsman unnecessary, and a demand for labourers in the factories arose. This demand was met by the dispossessed peasants, the descendants of the feudal serfs, who had been ejected from the land, by the enclosures of the land-owners; and to a lesser extent by the disbanded retainers of the nobility. Here we have the germ of the modern propertyless wage-workers or proletariat, on the one hand, and the modern capitalist class, or bourgeoisie, on the other.

The wealth of the bourgeoisie continued to increase and they became the dominating force in the economic life of society. Nevertheless they still remained excluded from the political control, which was monopolised by the landed nobility and the monarchy. This political control they only obtained after a prolonged struggle with the landed classes—a struggle culminating mostly in compromises, but which, nevertheless, by increasing their political power, enabled them to modify or destroy the institutions of feudalism, and turn the forces of government more toward their own interests. The successive stages of the political advancement of the bourgeoisie in England may be seen in the Civil War and the accession of William of Orange, and finally in the Reform Act of 1832 and the subsequent abolition of the Corn Laws. In France a similar but more condensed movement took place, and the bourgeoisie gained practically complete control in the revolution of 1789.

But the final and most modernising phase of the evolution of the capitalist class dates from the introduction of machinery into the productive process. The invention of the spinning jenny by Hargreaves was the first of a series of mechanical contrivances brought out in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, and in such a short period that it is rightly referred to as the Industrial Revolution, which, with the application of steam power, completely transformed, first the textile, and subsequently many other industries. From that time onwards the spur of competition among the capitalists has forced the pace in continually utilising new and casting aside old and obsolete machinery. Each in order to "corner" the markets, strives to undersell his competitors. He is enabled to do

this to the extent to which he can lessen the labour necessary to produce his commodities, and it is this machinery enables him to do.

Rapidly, when once instituted, the new productive powers spread from one industry to another, even to agriculture, and then the means of transport were likewise revolutionised.

We will now see how this transformation of the technical conditions affected the general mode of production and the classes in society. In the first place it completed the socialisation of the labour process which had begun when the labour of the workers was simply divided among them in the single factory. The worker to-day does not by his own labour produce from the raw material a finished product, as did the craft worker of the Middle Ages. He only contributes a fraction of the labour necessary for the perfection of each article, which may be the result of the working of the *grains* and muscles of thousands, nay, even of millions, of workers scattered in all parts of the world. He cannot say: "This is the result of my work; it is my product." The product is collective. Moreover, production is now carried on not that the product may be utilised by the producers, or even in most cases by consumers who are known, but for the market, national and international.

The first and most obvious effect of the use of machinery upon the condition of the working class is that by producing the same quantity with a lesser expenditure of labour-power, it renders a number of workers superfluous, unnecessary, and therefore worthless. It was this effect which roused the workers to smash the machinery in the workshops, as they did in the Luddite riots, in the early days of its introduction. Here also we find the root of the chronic unemployed "problem," a phenomenon unknown in any form of society save capitalism. The use of ever more perfect machinery eliminates skill from the labour process, while as the physical strength required is decreased, so increases the possibility of employing women and even children. With the competition of the reserve industrial army of the unemployed on the one hand, and of the unskilled, the female and child labour on the other, the wage of the worker seldom has a chance of rising above subsistence level. The proletariat has been reduced to the level of a machine-minder; the machine controls him, not he the machine.

Upon the capitalist class the extension of machine production has had a transforming influence equally as marked as upon the proletariat, but in a different direction. Their wealth has multiplied by leaps and bounds. The necessity forced upon them of ever using more and more efficient and elaborate machinery, causes many of them to succumb in the intense competitive struggle; for as the machine grows in complexity, so does it increase in value, so that the amount of capital necessary to run a capitalist concern successfully continually increases. Furthermore, the same tendency is hastened by the fact that machinery is so rapidly improved upon that it is often obsolete long before it is worn out. Therefore the large capitals survive and the small capitals are crushed out, and those dependent upon them drop in ever greater numbers into the ranks of the proletariat. They may toil night and day to keep their heads above water, but eventually they sink and join the wage-earners.

While, therefore, the proletariat increases, the capitalist class tends to decrease in numbers. On the one hand, therefore, we have enormous and continually growing wealth concentrated in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists, while in contrast we have a large and increasing working class in a condition of wretched poverty on the other. Combinations of capitalists spring up forming companies, trusts and combines the better to wage the competitive struggle and exploit the workers, and the capitalist ceases to function as a director of production, his place being taken by hired managers and foremen. The capitalist thus becomes as unnecessary to production and as parasitic as the feudal lord in the course of time became. Like the animal parasite, he absorbs nutriment, but returns nothing useful to his host; indeed, he weakens it. The capitalist class consumes but does not produce.

So contradictory is the capitalist system that the very superabundance of wealth becomes a

factor which intensifies the poverty of the producers, a hitherto undreamt of phenomenon. The productivity of labour continually increases, but the remuneration of the workers remains comparatively stationary. Thus their purchasing power relatively decreases. And as they form the bulk of the consumers an ever-growing surplus of products remains to be sold. Supply constantly outstrips effective demand; the expansion of the markets fails to keep pace with the growing supply of commodities. As the markets become glutted, production slackens to enable the unsold products to be disposed of, and the workers find themselves partially or totally deprived of employment, and to a corresponding extent of wages. When the workers' wages are gone their subsistence is gone, and we get the spectacle of starvation in the midst of plenty, resulting, in fact, from relative over-production.

In order to dispose of their surplus products the capitalists endeavour by every means in their power, including the use of the State forces, to extend the markets and facilitate commerce. Gradually, with the opening out and colonising of lands in all parts of the inhabitable globe the capitalist system becomes world-wide. The industrially backward countries, from being at first mainly markets for the sale of goods produced in the more advanced capitalist areas, are forced in turn into capitalist producers themselves. Thus more competitors enter the race for commercial supremacy, and the markets begin to contract. The surplus, therefore, increases, but the means of disposing of it decreases. Commercial wars of great magnitude are entered upon, which shake society to its very foundations, and the capitalist system more and more plainly declares itself bankrupt as a progressive institution and a clog in the wheels of progress.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

Culture.

Since the inauguration of the tribunals under the Military Service Act, the public has had an opportunity of witnessing the absolute "impartiality" of those who sity grace such tribunals with their presence. I have read of members of these tribunals stating their views of conscientious objectors in the following manner: "You ought to be shot," and "You ought to be hanged." Even military representatives can be found who exclaim: "You have not the pluck of a mouse," and "Filled up with the madness of insane views." But the choicest gem of all is found in the following question asked in the House of Commons:

Mr. SNOWDEN asked the President of the Local Government Board what action he proposes to take upon the conduct of Councillor Hayward, a member of the Shaw, near Oldham, local tribunal, who told an applicant for an exemption on the ground of conscientious objection, on 7th March, that he was exploiting God to save his own skin, that he was a deliberate and rank blasphemer, a coward and a cad, and nothing but a shivering mass of unwholesome fat; and if he will ask the council who appointed this member to the tribunal to exercise their powers under the instructions to dismiss a man who has shown himself incompetent for the duties of his office?

The reply was as follows:

Mr. HAYES FISHER: The question of revoking the appointment of any member of a local tribunal rests with the local authority appointing it, and I think I can safely leave this case in their hands.

Of course the reply is a mere shuffle; but it does not say much for the claim put forward by the powers that be that the claims of conscientious objectors would be considered by a judicial and fair-minded body!

A Member of the Old Red International.

The gentleman who claims the above title was referred to in the pages of the "S.S." last March. For an example of better narrow mindedness, I would refer readers to the speech of the Hon. Mr. C. B. Stanton in the House on the 16th March. Coming from an "Old Red International,"

ist" it is distinctly rich. As it is obviously impossible for all who might desire to read the whole of his diatribe to do so, let me quote a few extracts:

Who are these conscientious objectors? In times of peace we had to put up with all kinds of faddists, but in time of war, when our Empire (capital E. Mr. Printer for "our" Empire, please) is in danger, surely it is the wrong time to tolerate them. It is a wicked and devilish conspiracy. . . . They go about to denounce me and the likes of me, and say we have betrayed the Labour cause because we dare to be true to our country and our king. These people should not be tolerated in this house. . . . I warn this house that the time has come when we must put an end to this sort of thing. . . . They are not British. I say they are no men. If they wish to be martyrs, let them go and get themselves crucified. . . . It would pay the British Government to let them go to some little South Sea island so that they could start there a little hell or harem of their own. Here they hamper progress, and they hamper every chance that we have. Col. 2411-2.

Enough. Gawd forbid that I should quote more. If you require more the price of the Report is 3d. There is value for money in this issue, and I do not receive a commission on sales. "They denounce me" and "hamper every chance that we have." You're spotted, eh, Mr. Stanton?

Suffer Little Children . . .

The mere repetition of the word "war" seems to be a justifiable excuse for the departure from all normal practices in the eyes of our governing class. During a recent discussion at Westminster on the Civil Services Vote on account, it was officially stated by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, in reply to a question as to how many children of school age have been withdrawn from school, that a return was about to be issued, but, perhaps he might be allowed to summarise it by saying "that the number of boys between 11 and 12 years of age who have been withdrawn throughout the country is 143, and the number of girls is 1. In the case of those between 12 and 13 years of age the number of boys withdrawn is 208, and the number of girls 13; between 13 and 14 years of age, boys 3,511, and girls 78.

That there is no need whatever for this wholesale taking away of children from school is clear and plain to all those who have eyes to see. It is merely a question of pounds, shillings and pence. Our patriotic, liberty-loving, cheap-labour bosses do not like parting up the money necessary for the upkeep of an adult wage slave. So the kiddies of the working class must be procured by a side-wind and the war offers a good excuse. There have already been serious accidents to young boys in sole charge of a team of horses, and in two cases it is believed with fatal results! A speaker during the debate stated that he was a member of a local education authority and he let fall the following remarks:

We thought that was going far enough, and some of us reluctantly agreed to it. This year a resolution was passed, by 6 votes to 5, that children of 11 years of age could be withdrawn from school. At the same time the Board of Agriculture have issued a notice to farmers that they can have soldiers who have been accustomed to agriculture to assist in farm work this spring at 4s. per day, and there is not a single farmer who has asked for a single soldier in that district. I say that this is proof positive that these safeguards which the Board of Education talk about have never been carried out at all. Off. Rpt. and March, 1916. Vol. 80. No. 10. Cols. 1274-5.

Perhaps it is worth while to note that there is a Labour Member connected with the department of education, Mr. A. Henderson. What is he doing for the children of the working class? The point that soldiers can be spared at a certain wage per day for farmers, whilst at the same time "we require more men and still more men" for the army, I leave to others to reconcile.

S. W. T.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE REAL BABY-KILLERS.

A CRITIC CRITICISED.

Apart entirely from the depletion of the labour for cotton manufacture by the war, adult workers are finding the strain of the work so great that they prefer other work even at much less rates of wages. Of recent years the speeding up has been accelerated. The toil in the factories is almost more than flesh and blood can stand. Indeed, women in the mills are, as a result of the conditions, rendered unfit for the duties of motherhood. The strength of the race is being sapped at the very root. Let it not be thought that I am exaggerating in any way. It is a fact that conditions in the cotton mills are steadily going from bad to worse, and how bad they have been only those can know who have had to live under them.

The Crime Against Motherhood.

The above is quoted from an article by one Donald Ross, which appeared in "Reynolds's Newspaper." The description of the conditions in cotton manufacture apply with equal force to nearly every industry that can be mentioned. Robert Sherard, in his "White Slaves of England," examined half-a-dozen industries, and could have included many more, where the conditions were even worse than were to be found in textile factories, bad as they are.

There are undoubtedly degrees of poverty and suffering among the workers. There are some industries that are notorious as child-murdering institutions; but the children of the working class are sacrificed to capital everywhere. Mr. Ross ignores this, and attacks the cotton lords as though they were the only criminals.

The question of child labour has been discussed inside and outside the House of Commons only to reveal the naked hypocrisy of the employing class and the rottenness of their system. At the conclusion of all these discussions, rather than admit their impotence or unwillingness to check the evils that flow from their avarice, they invariably cast the blame upon the parents of the children. "These men and women, who for the sake of a few shillings per week eagerly curtail their children's education and condemn them to the factory hells," Mr. Ross, though not endorsing this view, yet says: "Surely the parents of Lancashire will refuse to let their children be ruined in this way." He does not tell us, however, how the workers of Lancashire are to back up their refusal. To maintain their children in idleness is out of the question. Their wages, even when husband and wife both work, is barely sufficient to keep themselves. Throughout long years they have struggled against fearful odds to feed and clothe their kiddies. They have continually looked forward to the time when they would get them off their hands.

In localities like Lancashire, where a single industry predominates and nearly all the workers are more or less directly employed in it, there is little chance for the children as they grow up

escaping from it. Their destiny is marked out for them. The factories are there to incorporate flesh and blood with the raw cotton, and with the best will in the world the parents cannot protect their children from the vampires that have already sucked the parents dry.

"It is an astounding proposal," says Mr. Ross, "that children of twelve years of age, for the period of the war, be allowed to work eight hours a day, and be required after the war to attend continuation schools."

It does not strike the writer of that remark as astounding or monstrous that there should be an idle class in society able to enforce this and much more—a class that owns all the means of wealth production, and by that means are able to enslave the rest of society. But this fact transcends in importance any of the wretched details that make up the hideous nightmare of capitalism.

"The whole is greater than a part," and the entire sufferings of the working class are greater than the sufferings of any section. The cause of the total suffering is the class ownership of the means of life and the commodity character of human labour-power. For no one to-day can deny that society could satisfy all its needs and abolish poverty entirely if the means of life were owned in common and wealth were produced for use. Class ownership and production for profit are the cause of poverty, of the exploitation of children as well as of men and women, and of the war that provides the excuse for intensifying wage-slavery. That is the cause; and Mr. Ross gravely informs us that "the best way to deal with an evil is to remove its cause."

The Baby-killers are Here.

Private ownership is the cause; let the workers remove it and substitute common ownership, when, by working co-operatively and controlling democratically they can satisfy all their wants with the minimum expenditure of labour-power. If men, women, and children are "sacrificed on the altars of Mammon," destroy the altars and take away the power of their priests.

But really there is nothing astounding in the "proposal" Mr. Ross speaks of if we take into consideration whence it comes. The cotton lords have always been in the van in the capitalist war on children. Who forgets their past record? Who forgets how they bargained with the representatives of their class in authority for the workhouse children, taking one imbecile in every five; how they worked them in relays, chained to the machines, and turned them into beds just vacated by their companions who were to take their places at the machines? The lineal descendants of these inhuman monsters, only one or two generations removed, can scarcely be expected to have lost their appetite for child flesh.

The cotton lords are ordinary capitalists, and

all capitalists are concerned with obtaining cheap labour—the cheapest that can be got for their purpose. Even "garden cities," recreation rooms, and other "ideal conditions" are avowedly established with that object in view. The function—if it can be dignified with that name—of the capitalist

Some Capitalist Humbug.

is the function of the parasite. His nature is to exploit; and his natural hypocrisy comes to his aid when he seeks to justify his exploitation. It is best for the children, he says, to be in the factories with something useful to occupy their minds: it keeps them out of the streets, where they come to harm. The capitalist is the real baby-killer. But it is useless to rail at him, or to plead with him. The only sane course is to put it out of his power to continue his exploitation.

The only way to do this is to deprive him of ownership of the tools of production, and incidentally this is the only way to save the children from his clutches. Mr. Ross overlooks this simple solution. "The war is to be used as a pretext for binding men and women to the tools of their trade; tools which they themselves do not own. But that is not the main point. The main point is that children of twelve years of age" and so on. So Mr. Ross fails to see that the ownership of the tools determines the slavery of the parents, and their impotence to save their children from a like fate follows.

It is questionable whether the writer of the article understands the Socialist solution, although he refers to the tools which the textile workers do not own. Labour leaders and others often use this phrase with no conception of what it implies. Some, indeed, understand by it the Syndicalist notion that the workers in each industry can own the tools they operate. But there is a distinct danger in the use of such phrases unless the knowledge is conveyed along with it, that there is only one alternative to capitalist ownership, and that is, common ownership of all the tools of production and distribution by the whole people.

"But this is not the main point," says Mr. Ross, meaning, of course, "the binding of men and of women to the tools they do not own." We contend that it is the main point. If the children have to be broken on the wheels and frames of the cotton lords—as the parents have been—it is not a mere question of a year or two less school, but a question of their condemnation to the hell of life-long slavery.

Save the Children!

Mr. Ross says: "The best way to deal with the evils of cotton manufacture is to alter the conditions." He neglects, however, to inform us how to do so, or even who is to alter them, cotton lords or wage-slaves. The latter, if they wish to learn, might apply to Mr. Ross, who has evidently

mastered the question and found it easy. He says "that would be too simple," and then he intimates that only the cotton lords have the power to alter conditions, though admitting it would be against their interest to do so. "It might interfere with profits," he says. Further: "It might, indeed, persuade cotton operatives that they are human beings with equal rights to their masters, instead of mere commodities to be bought and sold in the labour market."

Here our author reveals the futility of all reform movements. Reforms can only come as concessions from the master class, who know by experience that concessions are a sign of weakness. The strength and boldness of their enemies are increased in proportion as concession is made. It is the knowledge of this that determines employers' opposition to every demand made by the trade unionists. A few real successes by trade unions would do far more to make them popular than years of propaganda. But real successes are impossible to them. The economic organisation and power of the capitalists increases faster than do those of the unions. The resistance of the latter, though necessary and useful, is only able to slightly retard the pace of the increase in the rate of exploitation.

Nor do reforms accomplish anything for the working class, whose poverty and wretchedness increases with every improvement in the means of wealth production. They neither palliate present conditions nor build up the workers' strength for an organised effort in the future.

The exposure by Mr. Ross of child-slavery in the textile factories—although dealing with only a portion of the crime against the working class—is surely sufficient to move the workers to at least take counsel among themselves with a view to ending a system which means slavery for themselves and their children. Reforms are useless, for even while we are concentrating our attention on one particular evil other, and worse, evils are springing up all around us. The only sure way to fight all the evils is to spread the knowledge of Socialism. Socialism alone will give the workers control of the tools they use, and enable them to save themselves and their children from poverty and slavery.

F. F.

A CHINESE PROPHECY.

The competition for markets bids fair to be a more fruitful cause of war than was ever in the past the ambition of princes or the bigotry of Priests. The peoples of Europe fling themselves, like hungry beasts of prey, on every yet unexploited quarter of the globe. Hitherto they confined their acts of spoliation to those whom they regard as outside their own pale. But always, as they divide the spoil, they watch one another with a jealous eye; and sooner or later, when there is nothing left to divide, they will fall upon one another. That is the real meaning of your armaments: you must devour or be devoured. And it is precisely those trade relations, which it was thought would knit you in the bonds of peace, which, by making everyone of you cut-throat rivals of the others, have brought you within reasonable distance of a general war of extermination.—Extract from "Letters from John Chinaman," published anonymously in 1901 by Messrs. Brimley Johnson, 8 York Buildings, Adelphi, London.

THE AGE OF GOLD.

What is here?
Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious, gold?
Thus much of this will make black, white; foul, fair;
Wrong, right; base, noble; old, young; coward valiant.
What, this, you gods? Why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides,
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads.
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions; bless the accurs'd;
Make the hoar leprosy ador'd; place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With Senators on the bench: this is it,
That makes the wappen'd widow wed again.
Come, damned earth, thou common whore of mankind!

—"Timon of Athens."

"GERMANY'S DISHONOURED ARMY."

The present writer, entering one of his Most Gracious Majesty's post offices a few days since, saw therein a grimy placard bearing prominently these words:

GERMANY'S DISHONOURED ARMY.

Then followed an invitation to all and sundry who desired to regale themselves with the noisome details of "atrocities" British capitalism, at present so busily producing Samaritanian comforts for mankind at large in "controlled establishments," alleges against its brother and erstwhile good friend, German Capitalism, to apply at the counter for literature upon the subject, when, they were assured, they would not be sent empty away.

Somewhere about the same time it transpired, through the medium of the Press, that that gentleman of many and strange experiences (experiences, be it remarked, not always in the region of "beer and skittles"), Mr. Horatio Bottomley, was willing to assist in the worthy work of fanning the flame of hatred against the Germans at a fee which, he carefully explained, when he refunded it, left him out of pocket.

The reader, of course, will see no connection between these two items. The explanation of this is quite simple—there is no connection between them. Far be it from me to suggest that they are anything but utterly independent incidents in the same game—the game of the Anti-German League, the game of the "Got Strafe England" Society, the game of Asquith, Lloyd George, Bethmann-Hollweg, the game of the capitalist and his (s)henchman everywhere, the game of filling the hearts of the workers of the respective countries with fear of the prospective invader, and so reviving their drooping spirits (of double-distilled essence of jingomania) and warding off the time when they shall be sick to revolt of the reek the sacrifice and the stench of "Patriotism's" blood-soaked altars.

In proof of this, how long might one search the columns of the ordinary Press for any record (save a few rare and essentially individual cases) of even passably decent, much less chivalric, treatment being shown toward their enemies by the Germans?

But the cat gets out of the bag sometimes. One of the most prominent writers on matters connected with the land is Mr. G. A. Palmer, whose eldest son has recently died in Germany from wounds received in an air reconnaissance. "Poultry" for May 12th says among other things concerning the incident:

The Germans were extremely kind to him and sent air messages over the lines to report his progress. In the final one they said that he was buried in the churchyard at Douai with military honours and a great mourning of the people.

It is not, of course, the Censor's business to give credit where credit is due, but to suppress awkward truths, hence it is not surprising that "human documents" which show the German in any other aspect than that of bestial depravity would find any wider circulation than the Censor could help. Neither, come to that, is it for the Socialist to worry about fair play for the German capitalist—or for the British capitalist either, for that matter. But filthy games are being played, and always, when this is the case, it is the workers who are the victims, not the capitalists. Did our masters, upon the occasion of the Whitehaven mining holocaust, plaster the post offices with placards detailing the horrors of the atrocity? No, they were only concerned with hiding the cause and shoving the blame on God.

It is quite clear that the case of Lieutenant Palmer does not indicate a mere individual act of kindness, nor is it conceivable that it stands alone. But the point not that, but that it sheds a light on the campaign of vilification, British and German, which goes so far in sustaining the war fever among the workers.

A. E. J.

Two hundred and fifty thousand men must be torn from their homes and families and driven into the Army in order to provide 200,000 officers with servants and grooms. Who said the workers are not slaves? What, Henderson? Military necessity! Ha, ha!

AFTER TWELVE YEARS.

June 12th is the anniversary of the formation of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. On Saturday the 24th of June, 1916, a Reunion of Party members and friends is being held at Devonshire Hall, Devonshire Street, Mare Street, Hackney.

June 12th ends the twelfth year of the Party's existence. Twelve years, though but a span in the history of the working class movement, is a largeslice of the individual man's "allotted span," and for that space of time the Party membership, in face many obstacles, have succeeded in their struggle to clear a space from which to prosecute effectively the vital work of Socialist education.

The way has been hard through those years. At first, faced not only with the opposition of our avowed enemies and the enmity of the "friends of labour," but also with the smallness of our numbers, internal difficulties, and with our means of subsistence barely visible, our fight seemed a hopeless one. But good progress has been made. Fighting with a determination born of the logic of the Socialist position, the little band clung to their task and consolidated the ground that they had won for Socialist propaganda and working-class politics. Forced to notice the "insignificant" party of "impossibilists" (as we used to be called), our opponents at home and abroad tried in turn to crush us and to cajole us; but our case was too strong to fall before their whirl of windy words, and our principles too precious to pawn for the loan of their flattery or favour.

At the present moment, however, our Party has to face greater difficulties than it has yet been called upon to surmount, and the result of twelve years strenuous and unremitting labour is threatened with destruction.

The bulk of our most active members, always too few, are threatened with the chains of military prisons, or, what is to them perhaps even more objectionable, the degradation of khaki. It therefore behoves those who are left to redouble their efforts to keep the organisation together, to keep its policy as clean and its principles as clear as its record of past years.

Since we raised the "STANDARD" of the Socialist Party twelve years ago it has floated free to the breeze; now that the winds of adversity freshen into a gale, see to it, comrades, that it is kept flying.

TWE.

A SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

In the April No. of the "Western Clarion," the official organ of the Socialist Party of Canada, the following welcome note occurs:

Our comrades in Great Britain are having a very strenuous time in face of the present crisis; but they are nobly upholding the WORKING CLASS POSITION in spite of Prussian Militarism, and jingoistic sneers.

It is times like these that draw the revolutionists of every country closer together for united action against the COMMON ENEMY; and may we, in the near future, be united together with the revolutionists of other lands who have expressed the aims and principles of that part of our class, who, realising that they are slaves, express a desire to be free, in an INTERNATIONAL, which, founded on the firm rock of PROLETARIAN SCIENCE, shall withstand all the storms that may assail it.

And in the report of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada, printed in the same journal, the further statement occurs:

We are all heartily in accord with the attitude of the S.P.G.B., and hope that before long we will be affiliated with them in a new "International."

Comrades, a toast! Here's to the coming Socialist International! Ed. Com.

Strange! The heroes of the British capitalist Press are the German Socialists who are opposing the war, while the British Socialists who are taking a similar course of action are traitors and shunks, according to that same Press. It is quite consistent with the hypocrisy that decorates one man for risking his life for a kitten, and another for butchering his fellow-man.

BY THE WAY.

The question of raising an ever larger army and the consequent greater need of more recruits to replace those who are rendered useless in the struggle, is the all-important theme of our masters. The so-called "voluntary" system has been played for all it was worth, and is already forced into the background. Only a week or two since the apostle from Wales, Lld. George, addressing a meeting of his constituents, said "Lord Derby's scheme was not the 'voluntary system,'" and in his speech endeavoured to make out a case for, and justify his position in support of, general compulsion.

The methods adopted by our masters are of a progressive nature and incidentally oblique. First of all, promises of jobs that would be kept for "volunteers" on their return to civil life. (Provided always they returned intact, for patriotic employers are inclined to a preference for a man with two good legs and ditto arms without medals than an imperfect man with the aforesaid medals!) Also the granting of a portion of their wages was used as an inducement to spur them on; next we came to the stage when their future employment depended upon their attestation: thousands were told to join or starve; and then arrived the period when it was discovered that single men were cheaper. At last it was discovered that in the gathering in by compulsion of the single men the salvation of the country would be assured. Oh! list to me whilst I tell you that during the Committee stage of the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, Mr. Long, in referring to the Secretary of State for War, said:

He authorises me to say this Bill will give him, by bringing in the unmarried men, all the men that he requires. It will enable him to provide the troops that the nation requires. It will enable him to do all that he can and all that is necessary to be done, to use his own words, to secure victory. Official Report, 18th January, 1916, Col. 2004.

The conscriptionists having obtained a portion of their demand there was for a short period something in the nature of a lull. Then we arrived at the stage when another "pledge" was apparently thought necessary, and the organ of Liberalism and Voluntarism announced "No future extension of Compulsion Bill." It read as follows:—

Mr. Asquith pledged himself, spontaneously and unequivocally, both against any application of compulsion to married men during the war and against any continuance of compulsion after the war. He pointed out, we are told, that he naturally could not foresee what the future might seem to require, or a subsequent Parliament might demand. But if any extension of compulsory military service was thus called for, he would be no party to it. Those who then wanted it, he declared, must take his place!—"Daily Chronicle," 21.1.16.

Within a very short space of time the agitation again became very keen and another demand was made, this time for general compulsion. Evidently the anticipated number of single "slackers" had failed to materialise. Then we read almost hourly of cabinet crises and the threatened break-up of the coalition. We next observed that a Daniel in the person of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the "Labour" minister, was extending the olive branch and endeavouring to further hand over the workers to the Government by a new suggestion with regard to the "voluntary" recruiting business. An article by the Parliamentary correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle," 20.1.16 stated:

I understand that the Cabinet had before it yesterday a proposal emanating from Mr. Arthur Henderson for the re-opening for a specified period of the system of voluntary recruiting, so as to allow married men who have not attested an opportunity of joining the army as volunteers, not as conscripts. The idea is that . . . the experiment of voluntary recruiting for married men should be given a six weeks' run. In the event of the result being disappointing, then presumably the Cabinet would decide unanimously that compulsion was absolutely necessary. Given these conditions and this unanimity, Mr. Henderson would endeavour to reconcile organised labour to this further dose of compulsion.

Here we see what a faithful servant of his capitalist paymasters this "Labour" man is. He "would endeavour to reconcile organised

labour," etc. This, forsooth, is a specimen of the "Labour" crooks who in times past have dangled specious promises before the workers and asked them to send such gentry to the House of Commons to look after their interests.

We arrive now at a new phase of the compulsion for married men. The general principle having been agreed upon by the powers that be a new agitation has to be commenced. After having pitted the unmarried against the married, the next move is to try and discriminate amongst the married. So we find correspondents to newspapers who blossom forth with new suggestions, and which are taken up by at least one paper in a leading article, doubtless because it appears to be a cheaper method of getting the fighting material required. In perusing the said article I am informed that "two suggestions reached us yesterday for the reform of recruiting which are well worthy of the consideration of responsible authorities." It then goes on to state:

A very large majority of the married men have no children or have only one child. Therefore why should not a new grouping system of married be carried out? Not according to their age, but according to their domestic responsibilities. Let the married men having no children be called up in the first group, the second to be composed of men with one child, the third of men with two children, and so on.—"Daily Chronicle," 5.5.16.

So the development of militarism grows, and side by side with it is to be seen the parsimony of the capitalist class. Men without children represent so many "quids" to our patriotic bosses, therefore let them be the first to be sacrificed. I really think, in all seriousness, the time has arrived when a corps should be formed of persons who have long since turned their pulpits into recruiting platforms, also "labour leaders" and blood-thirsty greybeards who are so very keen on others shedding their blood.

But stay! The Daily Chronicle's proposal to take married men in the order of their lack of kiddies overlooks the fact that the well-to-do have the fewest children. It would mean conscripting the working class married men last! Now, is it likely? Our masters want to save quids it is true, but they want, above all, to save their own skins.

One reason for general conscription, in fact, is that by bringing larger numbers within the Act it will enable them to exempt their friends. It will be noticed, indeed, that practically all the machinery of compulsion is concentrated upon the working class. The lists of workmen, with their states and ages, that must be pasted up in every factory; the penalties for employing eligible men; the "combing out" of munition workers; the Munitions Acts, etc., all fall exclusively upon the working class. The idle class escape this chief weapon of the conscriptionists. Special exemption, indeed, is to be considered for small capitalists.

Much has been made of the financial relief to be granted to soldiers in special cases, but of what does it consist? Is it to provide more or better food and clothing and comfort for the wife, children or dependents of the conscript? Oh dear, no! Have a look at it:

Assistance may be granted in suitable cases in respect of the following obligations:

Rent, interest and instalments payable in respect of loans (including mortgages);
Instalments for the purchase of house, business premises, furniture, &c.,
Taxes, rates, insurance premiums, and school fees.

In other words it is merely a "relief" to the capitalists in order to save them from the losses they would otherwise suffer because the soldier could not keep up his payments. Trust the ruling class to look after number one!

At a meeting recently held in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields the Bishop of Kensington let fall some interesting remarks. Judging from the report of the meeting one would gather that the reverend gentleman had had the scales removed from his eyes and was at last able to see clearly things as they are. He has discovered "that the poorer classes were alienated from them

(church-people), and that they were hostile to institutional Christianity because they had failed to see in the church of the nation and in the great body of those who professed to be followers of Christ, the representatives of those who loved them for the Master's sake." Of course, it is a question of precept and practice. I recollect reading that the Christ once said, according to the gospels, that "the foxes have holes, and the birds have their nests, but the son of man hath no where to lay his head." But his 20th century followers see to it that they are better equipped in this respect. Looked at carefully, these followers of Christ are prepared to risk their crown in heaven for a few crowns of the realm down here, and would rather possess a mansion in Belgravia than a mansion in the sky.

He goes on to say:

Have we cared to know the conditions in which masses of our workers have been living? Taken as a whole, the clergy stood forth in their eyes, mistakenly, no doubt, as the obsequious minions of capitalists and employers; and the great body of the faithful worshipping Sunday by Sunday in pew-rented places of worship in the west-end and elsewhere are identified with that system of smug middle-classdom which bolsters up, in their eyes, those capitalists and employers.—"Daily Chronicle," 8.4.16.

The reference to the clergy standing forth in the eyes of the workers as the minions of capitalists and employers, etc., is a choice morsel and in order to obtain the full flavour I have turned this mouthful over two or three times. Let me refresh the reverend gentleman's memory. At the time of the Westhoughton Colliery disaster the Bishop of Manchester said that God was responsible for the disaster, and implied that the mine owners were the most innocent of men. He talked in a letter to the bereaved people in the following strain: "It has pleased God to suffer an overwhelming affliction to fall upon you. . . . He will comfort the widows," etc.

The question of safety being sacrificed to the greed of the capitalists for profits never for one moment concerned the man of God. Plenty of cases might be cited, but there is evidence on every hand to show that the persons do the work of the master class well.

How is this for patriotism? In a case (the Anti-German League) recently before the Courts it was stated that a matinee took place at the London Pavilion on October 22nd, when Mr. Horatio Bottomley gave an address for which he received a fee of £52 10s. Patriotism, eh? What ho!

As another sidelight on the patriotic campaign, the following from the evidence in the same case should not be missed. It refers to the destination of the patriotic literature of the Anti German League:

Further cross-examined, Miss Coleman said she understood that the literature of the league was not for educated people, but to reach the "lower classes."

"But you have told us that you were going to distribute the literature among your friends?"

"Certainly not. I should have been ashamed to send them such stuff."—"Daily Chronicle," 15.5.16.

There you are, you "lower classes," put that in your pipes and smoke it!

While we are on the patriotic lay another little fact may be mentioned. It is only one of many. I could fill an issue of the "Standard" with very similar facts. The following will suffice:

The report of the White Star Line, issued yesterday, shows that the profit for last year, after providing a very large sum for excess profit tax and other contingencies, amounted to the enormous figure of £1,968,385.

Dividends amounting to 65 per cent. have already been paid.

A sum of £250,000 is placed to the reserve, a similar amount to the general purposes fund, and the Olympic and Britannic are credited with a special depreciation of £100,000 each, while £156,768 is carried forward.—"Daily Chronicle," 17.5.16.

There you are again, you "lower classes," isn't that worth fighting for?

—THE SCOUT.

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Socialist Standard 1916

Spectre of the workhouse' to the pressure of which indeed, "our women and girls" will yield, as many of those unfortunate women have already had to yield by rushing into the labour market. The masters, ever on the alert for cheap labour, are not losing THEIR "golden opportunity" of "making" their bit while Sonny is "doing" his bit. So what will Sonny lack on his return; what will he lack—except work?

ANALYSIS OF WEALTH.

I. VALUE.

Although from time immemorial the mass of objects which we term wealth has formed the basis of humanity's existence, it is only of recent years that a scientific investigation of the conditions of its production and distribution has arisen. This is indicative of a development of these conditions, for if there was in the past a lack of effort to solve economic problems, this can only be because these problems existed, if at all, in an obscure, immature fashion. In the days when small local communities were practically self-supporting and articles only rarely exchanged on their borders, it was obvious enough that wealth was the direct product of labour for individual consumption. Likewise in the earlier stages of production for exchange the seller of commodities knew them to be his personal products and attached no miraculous import to the money for which he sold them and with which he purchased the products of men likewise known to him. With the complexity of full-blown capitalism, however, the workers become separated from the commodities produced by them, which acquire a mysterious knack of realising more in their sale than what was laid out in buying the necessary factors for their production. Henceforth wealth seems to spring from nowhere—money makes money; and problems present themselves for solution.

Founded upon the very conditions which give rise to the problems, however, is the power of the capitalist class, who have a pretty sure instinct that a real economic science is inimical to their interests since it unavoidably exposes their parasitical position in society. It can readily be understood, therefore, that prior to critical revolutionists like Karl Marx developing the science in working-class interests, only a few isolated truths were revealed by the studies of honest, if orthodox, inquirers likewise few in number; while the mass of so-called economic literature became of an apologetic character seeking to obscure, in capitalist interests, the very problems it pretended to elucidate.

Members of the working class, having nothing to fear from criticism of a social order which entails nothing but poverty for them, may find in the writings of Marx a clear, if elaborate, analysis of the facts of their existence. Time spent in their study, snatched though it be from scanty leisure, is repaid by the acquisition of an undying purpose in life and the joy of knowledge with which to carve the road to power. If in the following paragraphs the writer can outline the main points of Marx's economic theory in such a way as to arouse interest in some hitherto apathetic or hostile mind, his immediate object will be served. If the inquirer be worth his salt he will not rest till he is intellectually equipped for the conflict with capital.

The unit of modern wealth is the commodity, which has three essential features. Firstly it must satisfy some human want; be useful. Secondly it is a product of human labour, a conscious adaptation of nature; while lastly it must be exchangeable for other useful labour products. It must find its way into the social market else it is no commodity.

Thus a commodity is a combination in an object of utility and exchangeability, or in other words, of use-value and exchange-value. The former is due to its natural qualities (physical, chemical, etc.) and also distinguishes it from any other commodity. It is this difference in usefulness which leads to the exchange of commodities, although it by no means determines the ratio in which they are exchanged. Any given commodity vendor does not exchange, say, boots for boots, but for some article of

wealth which has different properties. On the other hand it would be absurd to say that boots are as useful to him as the commodity he receives in exchange? Any attempts, therefore, (and there have been many), to explain exchange-value through utility are futile. Exchange-value is a relation of equality, while a comparison of the use-values of commodities simply reveals their differences or inequalities. What, then, is exchange-value? If we take a pair of boots and a ton of coal, each selling say for £1, we have three commodities (including the sovereign) of equal value. Compare as we may their relative weight, colour, smell, size, or any other tangible property, we can discover no equality between them. Their uses are different and it is highly improbable that the relations of supply and demand in coal and boot markets respectively are identical at any given moment. We are thus left with only one feature common to all these commodities, viz., they are products of human labour, they embody human energy. In this respect they may be compared and an equation between them arrived at if we measure the energy embodied in them by the time occupied in its expenditure. If, then, our imaginary pair of boots and ton of coal are equal in value, it can only be because they contain equal quantities of labour or, in other words, have taken an equal length of time to produce.

It is important to remember here that commodities are social products and presuppose the division of labour in society. Producers of coal and boots or of any other special product cannot exist on their commodities alone; they exchange as a matter of necessity. In consequence they seek to minimise the length of time taken in producing any given commodity in order, by the cheapness thereof, to secure a certain sale. If, therefore, someone takes up unnecessary time in the production of a commodity its value in exchange is not enhanced thereby. It is the socially necessary labour-time alone which forms value.

Another result of the division of labour is the difference in quality of the forms of labour which produce different commodities. Certain occupations exhaust more nerve and muscle in a given time than others. Their products therefore contain more value in proportion to the intensity of labour in excess of that embodied in other commodities. This, however, by no means affects the fact that they are reducible to one common element, simple labour-power; the more intense or skilled labour simply counts as a multiple of ordinary labour. Labour remains the factor which determines value.

This fact is the key to the door of economic mystery. Ignoring this, the professional "political economists" have endeavoured to lead us down one blind alley after another, beguiling us by the while with romantic yarns concerning the awesome and unapproachable majesty of Money arrayed as Capital, embodiment of all the attributes of God, before whom the knees of men must bow for ever. Let us try to use the key and enter the holy presence. Mayhap 'tis a gilded skeleton after all with which they would scare us.

Value (by which we continue to mean exchange-value) does not exist apart from material, valuable objects, any more than weight exists apart from things which are heavy, or heat apart from hot things. In measuring or expressing the value of a commodity we are, therefore, compelled to use some other commodity as an equivalent.

In common practice we use gold and say, for instance, 1 pr. of boots is worth 1 sovereign; but if 1 ton of coal is also worth £1, then we might just as well say, 1 pr. of boots is worth 1 ton of coal or any other commodity which exchanges for £1. £1 serves as an expression of the value of the boots only because, like the boots (and the coal), it contains a definite quantity of human labour, and is in this respect equal to them.

There is, therefore, nothing mystical about the function of gold as money more than there is about the use of mercury as a measure of heat, or iron weights in a greengrocer's shop. Gold measures value only because itself is valuable, as mercury has a temperature and iron is heavy. As coin gold becomes symbolic and may be replaced by tokens bearing a nominal value only, but said tokens must not diverge in

nominal value from the real value of the gold which would otherwise be used. Likewise the amount of depreciation in weight and therefore value which a gold coin is allowed to suffer and yet remain in circulation, is limited by law.

The quantity of gold for which a commodity will exchange we term its price. This price is broadly determined by the commodity's value, which is liable to fluctuations as the time taken in production varies.

The price, however, does not only reflect these variations. The velocity with which it is disturbed from time to time carries it now above, anon below the actual value of the commodity. On the surface these minor disturbances appear to be caused by supply and demand, and this is indeed so; but the relations of supply and demand are themselves subject to the changes in labour-time. Assume, for instance, that the time occupied in producing a given quantity of boots is decreased by some new invention or process, then there will be a tendency to increase the output beyond the power of the market to immediately absorb, followed by a fall in price. The excess of boots remaining unsaleable, production is restricted till prices rise, probably above the new value, afterwards falling to approximately the correct level, when production is resumed. The process may be compared with the oscillations produced on a pair of balances when the weight on one side is disturbed. Owing, however, to the continual alteration in the values of commodities due to improved methods of production, prices hardly ever come to rest at an exact coincidence with value. Nevertheless, it must be an approximation of price to value that takes place, for money is under the same necessity to express its value in the form of other commodities as these commodities are to express their value in the form of money. The statement that a sovereign is always worth a sovereign teaches us nothing.

Gold as money, then, is a transformed commodity. In addition to its own use (mainly luxurious) it has acquired the functions of universal equivalent—equivalent for all other commodities. Alone of all of them it is directly exchangeable for any of them by reason of its fitness to serve at once as a measure of value and a means of exchange or medium of circulation. Like all other commodities, it originates in a form of division of labour in which the means of production are private property and the product also; in which, moreover, production is not for direct use but for exchange.

The self-supporting peasant family of the Middle Ages had little use for money. Its various products were consumed by itself. The labour of each member was obviously part of the family's labour. Consequently products were not exchanged within it but were considered the family property. Long ages before civilisation tribal mankind produced forms of wealth which were used without going through the process of private exchange. They too needed not money.

The existing order of society, in which goods are produced for the market, is not immortal. It has not always existed; nor will it continue for ever to exist. When the vast means for producing wealth have been converted from private into common property; when the labour of society becomes consciously organised and its products distributed directly for consumption; when, in short, Socialism has been established, money will disappear. Labour products will cease to be commodities. Their social character will be obvious at first sight and will need no translation into mystical terms of gold.

As it is at present, when we express the values of commodities, we do but state in a round-about way that they are products of so much social labour, in a word, our products. Money conceals the fact but does not alter it. It is itself a social product which has the power to command social labour. Accumulated in the hands of private individuals it enables them to exploit masses of their fellow men, in short, it becomes capital. Precisely how it does this will form the subject matter of a future article.

E. B.

The struggle between the classes so much transcends the struggle between the capitalists that it will presently obliterate the latter.

'EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE.'

It is surprising how ready a person is to do a disagreeable thing if he is quite assured that he will never by any possible chance be called upon to do it. There are very great numbers of men well over military age almost dying of disappointment because they happen to be too old to fight the "Hated Huns" and the "Brutal Bulgars." Many women, too, are deploring that the fact of their sex debars them from donning khaki and rallying forth against the despoilers of Belgium and the ravishers of France. It is so easy to offer to make sacrifices when you know no one will possibly accept them! Mr. Asquith and the German Chancellor are both quite determined to fight to the last man and the last shilling in support of what each is pleased to call his Country's liberties. Presumably in such a case they themselves would be the last men in their respective countries, and the two last shillings theirs. It would certainly be an inspiring sight to any neutral nation then existing to see Mr. Asquith and Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg engaged in mortal combat with a purse of two shillings as the spoil of the victor.

So all the way round. The employers and their agents—politicians, pressmen, parsons—talk glibly about the "equality of sacrifice," "everyone doing his bit," "national service," and the like. It is, however, rather hard to find what most of these people have sacrificed. What, for instance, have the big armament firms, or the big shipping companies, sacrificed? Not their profits, at any rate. What they mean by their cant phrases is sacrifice for the other fellow, for the "lower orders," for the employee in their pay and the common soldier in the field.

A very illuminating article recently appeared in "The Weekly Dispatch" (March 19, 1916) showing the enormous profits that have been, and are being, made owing to the war. It has for title "Great War Profits—and who are making them. Enormously Increased Earnings after paying All Extra Charges." It is written by W. T. Faulkner. The article starts: "In this country millions have been made by companies who hold the lives of the civilian population in the hollow of their hands," which rather contradicts the assertion so repeatedly made that we are fighting for our liberties. What liberties are possessed by a man whose life is held in the hollow of some other man's hand?

Speaking about the shipping industry the writer says: "With their German competitors swept from the seven seas, with an enormous proportion of the mercantile marine being used for naval and military purposes, shipowners whose vessels had not been commandeered soon saw that a shortage of shipping would mean enormously increased freights which have been going steadily up and show no signs of going down."

One firm (Houlder Brothers) was able last year, after twelve months of war, to pay a 25 per cent. dividend, in spite of the fact that the directors publicly stated in 1908 that they would never pay more than 12½ per cent. until their reserve stood at £250,000. It stands to-day at £118,000. Another shipping line (Lampart and Holt) made a profit of £332,000 in the year, of which £200,000 was put to reserve. Profits running into millions have been made by firms which have escaped the commandeering of their fleets by the Government. The Cunard Line made a profit in 1914-15 of £1,286,000 as against £1,070,000 average profit in the three years before the war; the Mercantile Steamship Co. has increased its dividend this year from 20 to 35 per cent., and allocated £228,000 to a special fund; the Cairn Line has doubled its profits; the Moor Line has increased its dividend from 17½ to 25 per cent.

A table is given showing the profits made by certain armament, coal, and iron firms. For example, to mention one or two:

	Profits for 1914-15.	3 yrs. pre-war av.
Armstrong, Whitworth	801,000	640,000.
John Brown	521,000	310,000.
Cammell Laird	237,000	140,000.
Hawthorn, Leslie	149,000	73,000.
King's Norton Metal	131,000	40,000.
Vickers	1,019,000	808,000.
D. Davis & Son	221,000	175,000.
Powell Duffryn	422,000	293,000.

The paragraph following this table is very significant and well worthy of attention. It runs:

In the face of such figures it is impossible to support the plea of the traders who are steadily screwing money out of the people that the rise of prices, whether of labour or material, is caused by the increased cost of raw material.

Another company, The Shell Transport Co., made a profit of £2,000,000 in 1914-15, and paid a dividend of 35 per cent. Huge war profits have been made by tea, rubber, and jute companies, some tea companies paying as much dividend as 20, 40, 45, and even 50 per cent. Spillers and Bakers, the South Wales millers, increased their profits from an average of £141,000 to £367,000 in 1914-15.

Some of the firms have invested part of their profits in War Loan at 5 per cent., evidently considering they are thereby making some sort of sacrifice—a sacrifice at 5 per cent. increased value on the money invested! They hurl reproaches at the working man reluctant to enlist, proudly pointing out how patriotic they are and how well they have done their duty to their country by putting their excess profits in their country's War Loan stock. Possibly if the reluctant working man was assured that what he is asked to lend to the State—his life—would be returned to him at the end of the war with an addition of 5 per cent. to its value, his reluctance might subside. But so far is this from being the case in a great many instances, that not even the means of existence are given to him when he returns broken from the war, which was none of his seeking and from which he would anyhow gain nothing. The following from the "Daily Chronicle" April 5th, 1916, although it has already been quoted in these columns, will bear repetition as showing how much "war profit" the ordinary man obtains:

BROKEN BY THE WAR.

WOUNDED SOLDIER AND MOTHER LIVE ON 12s. 2d. A WEEK.

It was stated at a Battersea inquest yesterday on William Merritt, 22, of Comyn-rd., Clapham Junction, that the man joined the R.F.A. at the outbreak of the war, and after having been twice wounded, was granted a pension of 4s. 8d. a week. His mother earned 7s. 6d. a week, and the two lived on 12s. 2d. per week. On Friday Merritt was suffocated during an epileptic fit. The family were too poor to pay for his burial.

This also, in the "Times" of January 31st, 1916, from a letter by Sir Frederick Milner, may make a second appearance in these columns, as illuminating the same point:

Of 60 men recently discharged as no longer fit for service from a London hospital, 22 were marked by the medical board as C.P.T.—chronic pulmonary tuberculosis. All these men have stated that they were absolutely sound when they enlisted, and had never had any lung trouble in their lives. Yet as the War Office refuses to recognise that consumption can be caused by service, even if it be proved that the men were sound when they enlisted and that they contracted the disease in service, all these wretched men will be deprived of any pension, and the workhouse must be their eventual home.

"Equality of sacrifice" is a fine phrase for rogues to use and fools to swallow.

The shareholders in the firm of the Mercantile Steamship Co. take a dividend of 35 per cent. without ever having done a day's work towards earning it; the man who has been incapacitated through fighting for these and other shareholders gets a pension of 8d. a day and has to be buried as a pauper. Even this 8d. per day, however, is not the worst. Hundreds of widows of men who have died whilst serving in the Army, and at least 15,000 disabled soldiers, have been refused any State pensions.

We, for our part, know what the face value of these cant phrases really is. They are, of course, valuable to the employers and their henchmen, who use them both in war-time and peace-time in their endeavours to hide the gulf that lies between the two classes in society—the capitalist class and the working class. The "Identity of Capital and Labour," the "Unity of the Whole Nation," "Equality of Sacrifice," how pleasingly they come from the mouths of those whose chief concern in life is to enslave still further the already heavily shackled wage-slave. We have had enough of this talk of sacrificing ourselves for the good of someone else. Sacrifice for the exploiter is a slave-virtue, fit only for slaves. What we want is equality of opportunity to live as free men and free women, the oppor-

tunity to express ourselves as individuals and as a world-wide community, free in thought, in word, and in deed; not, as now, dependent on the will of others for our very existence and only allowed to exist if we work for and pandor to the comfort and luxury of those others. To the devil with their "Equality of Sacrifice." We are working for, and struggling towards, a world of free men and women.

F. J. WEBB.

ENGELS ON RELIGION.

Let us now give a slight glance at religion, since it appears to stand furthest away from, and to be most foreign to, material life. Religion arose at a very remote period of human development, in the savage state, from certain erroneous and barbaric conceptions of men with regard to themselves and the outside world of nature around them. Every ideological notion develops, however, when once it has arisen; it grows by additions to the given idea, and develops it further, otherwise there would be no ideology, that is, no occupation with thoughts as independent thought-existence, developing independently and subject only to its own laws. That the material conditions of life of the men, within whose heads this thought force is at work, finally determine the course of this thought process, necessarily still remains unknown to these men, otherwise there would be an entire end of the ideology. These original religious notions, therefore, which are for the most part common to each kindred group of peoples, develop after the separation of the group in a special manner peculiar to each tribe, according to its particular conditions of existence; and this process is for a class of groups of people, and particularly for the Aryans (Indo-Europeans) shown individually by comparative mythology. The gods developed by each tribe were national gods, whose power extended no further than to protect the national territory; beyond the frontier other gods held undisputed sway. They could only be conceived of as existing as long as the nation existed. They fell with its decline. This doctrine of the old nationalities brought about the Roman Empire, whose economic conditions we do not need to examine just now. The old national gods fell, as those of the Romans did also which were only attached to the narrow limits of the city of Rome. The desire to make the empire a world empire by means of a world-wide religion is clearly shown in the attempts to provide recognition and altars in Rome for all the respectable foreign gods next to the indigenous ones. But a new world-religion was not to be made in this way by imperial decree. The new world-religion, Christianity, had already arisen in secret by a mixture of combined Oriental religions, Jewish theology, and popularised Greek philosophy, particularly Stoic philosophy. We must first be at pains to discover how it originally made its appearance, since its official form, as it has come to us, is merely that of a State religion, and this end was achieved through the Council of Nice. Enough, the fact that after two hundred and fifty years it was a State religion shows that it was a religion answering to the circumstances of the times. In the Middle Ages this showed itself clearly. In proportion as feudalism developed it grew into a religion corresponding with it, with a hierarchy corresponding to the feudal. And when the rule of the bourgeois came in, it developed into protestant heresy in antagonism to feudal Catholicism, at first in the South of France, among the Albigenses, at the time of the highest growth of the free cities. The Middle Ages had annexed to the theology all the surviving forms of ideology, philosophy, politics and jurisprudence, as subordinate parts of theology. It therefore constrained all social and political movement to assume a theological form; finally, to the minds of the masses stuffed with religion, it was necessary to show their interests in religious guise in order to raise a tremendous storm. And as the rule of the bourgeoisie from the beginning brought into being an appendage of propertyless plebeians, with day labourers and servants of all sorts without any recognised position in their cities, the forerunners of the later proletarians,

so the heresy was very early subdivided into a moderate one on the part of the citizens, and a plebeian revolutionary one, which was an abomination to the bourgeois heretics.

The failure to extirpate the protestant heresy corresponded with the invincibility of the rising power of the bourgeois of that time; as this power grew, the fight with the feudal nobles, at first pre-eminently local, began to assume national proportions. The first great conflict occurred in Germany, the so-called Reformation. The power of the bourgeoisie was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently developed for an openly rebellious stand by uniting under the standard of revolt the city plebeians, the smaller nobility, and the peasants of the country districts. The nobility was struck first; the peasants took up a position that was the high-water mark of the entire revolution, the cities left them in the lurch, and so the revolution was left to the leaders of the country gentry who gathered the whole victory to themselves. Thenceforth for three hundred years Germany disappeared from the ranks of independent, energetic, progressive countries. But after the German Luther arose the French Calvin. With natural French acuteness he showed the bourgeois nature of the revolution in the church, republicanism and democratisation. While the Lutheran Reformation fell in Germany and Germany declined, the Calvinistic served as a standard to the republicans in Geneva, in Holland, in Scotland; freed Holland from German and Spanish domination, and gave an ideological dress to the second act of the bourgeois revolution which proceeded in England. Here Calvinism proved itself to be the natural religious garb of the interests of the existing rule of the bourgeoisie, and was not realised any further than that the revolution of 1688 was completed by a compromise between a portion of the nobility and the middle class. The English Established Church was restored, but not in its earlier form with the king for Pope, but was strongly infused with Calvinism. The old-established Church had kept up the merry Catholic Sunday and fought against the tedious Calvinistic one, the new bourgeois Church introduced the latter and added thereby to the charms of England.

In France the Calvinistic minority was subdued in 1685, either made Catholic or hunted out of the country. But what was the good? Directly after that the free-thinking Pierre Bayle was at work, and in 1694 Voltaire was born. The tyrannical rule of Louis XIV. only made it easier for the French bourgeoisie to be able to make its revolution in the political form finally suited to the progressive atheistic bourgeoisie. Instead of protestants, free-thinkers took their seats in the National Assembly. Thereby Christianity entered upon the last lap of the race. It had become incapable of serving a progressive class any further as the ideological clothing of its efforts, it became more and more the exclusive possession of the dominant classes, and these used it merely as a simple means of government to keep the lower classes in subjection. So then each one of the different classes employed its own suitable religion; the land-holding squires, Catholic Jesuitism or protestant orthodoxy; the Liberal and Radical bourgeois, rationalism; and it makes no difference, therefore, whether they believe in their respective religions or not.

Thus we see that religion once arisen contains material of tradition, hence in all ideological matters religion is a great conservative force. But the changes which take place in this material spring from class conditions, that is, from the economic circumstances of the men who take these changes in hand. And that is enough on this part of the subject.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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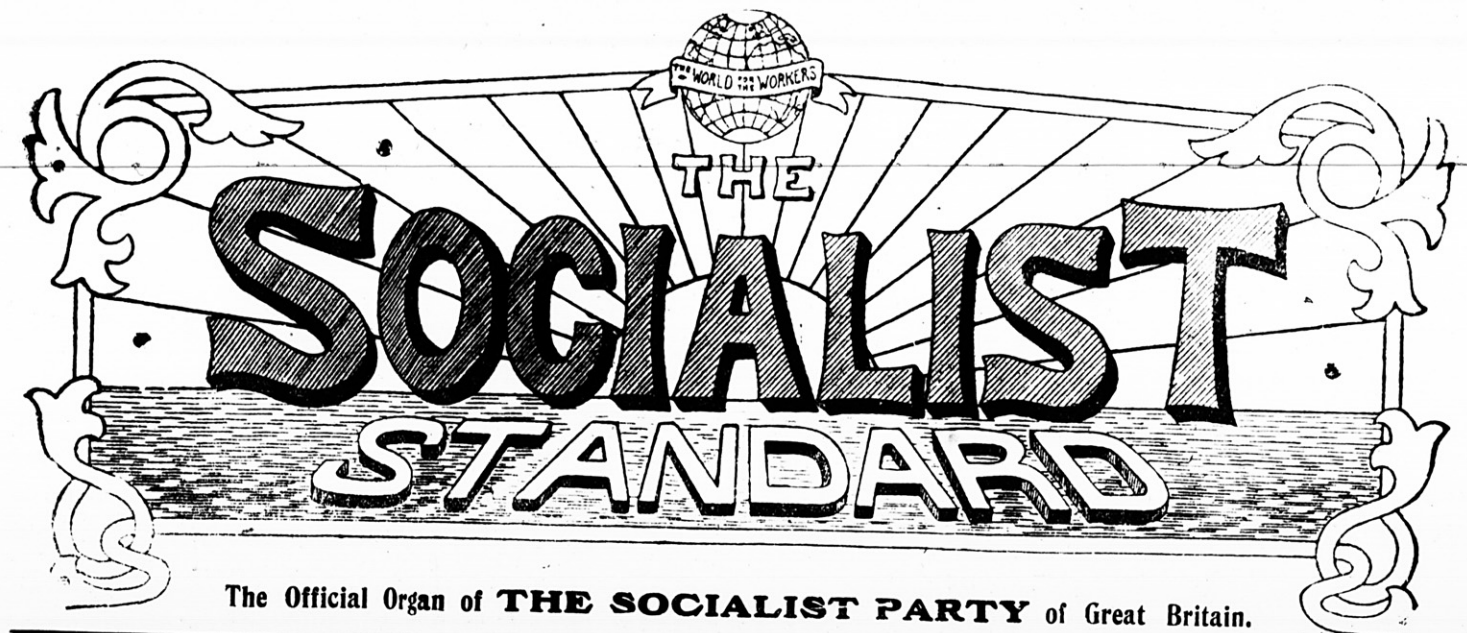
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LONDON, JULY, 1916.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

CAPITALIST CANT CRITICISED.

LIGHT ON A DARK SUBJECT.

The intellectual atmosphere of capitalist society is well laden with cant at the best of times, and the reason is not far to seek.

Capitalism creates cant. The antagonism of interests between classes and sections of classes gives rise to a necessity for preserving by some artificial means the unity and permanence of the established order. The chief instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose is the State, the political weapon of the property-owning class; but coercion by the State is expensive, and other means of securing the submission of the disturbing elements of society are therefore exploited for all they are worth.

Apart from State education, which does its best to warp the constitution of working-class minds in the making, there exist those precious "moulders of public opinion," the Press, the pulpit, and the political platform. Paid and maintained by the wealthy, their function is to persuade the workers either that their interests are identical with those of their masters, or that material interests are in themselves base and degraded elements of human nature which must be suppressed and not encouraged. In other words, the stock-in-trade of these intellectual prostitutes is cant and delusion. It could not be otherwise.

Since the "great war" commenced this industry of lying, like many others, has been speeded up considerably. The various capitalist nations concerned had to concentrate all the forces they could muster for the purpose of securing plunder through carnage, and the support of the working class was essential to this end.

In addition to saving the use of force, cant also suffices as a justification for it when necessary. As the real reasons for the war would hardly have aroused much enthusiasm among the workers, they had to be supplied with false ones. Not only that. Various rebellious members of the wage-slave class had to be quieted lest they should act on the principle that the capitalists' extremity was the workers' opportunity. Anti-strike-and-free speech-measures had to be enforced, and in order to make it easy, "public opinion" supporting these measures had to be developed. Consequently the politicians and penny-a-liners, backed by the ubiquitous parson, started working overtime, so if the air smelt of cant before, it positively reeked with it as the war fever rose.

Such well by "taking up his sword under the grace of God" (poor God must be puzzled as to which side he is really on) "to defend the integrity of his Empire against Serbian conspirators." This was nice and vague and saved him mentioning ports on the Adriatic and such-like "gross matters." Holy Russia, protector of small nations (such as Finland, Poland,

and Persia) indignantly arose to defend her little cat's-paw with truly Christian zeal, considering the proximity of Serbia to Constantinople, thus forcing Germany, out of respect for treaties, to defend her illustrious ally. Germany also found it necessary to defend the Fatherland against France, and any student of history knows that it was a mere coincidence that she collared Antwerp in doing so, not to mention various valuable Belgian mineral districts.

Not to be outdone in this sudden craze for defending something, Great Britain stepped in to defend Belgium, and incidentally the various German colonies and trade routes. The writer forgets just what Japan and Italy started to defend, but has no doubt that it was connected with our glorious civilization in some way, and had nothing to do with such outlandish places as Kiaochow and the Trentino.

The reader will thus see that in entering the war the various nations were actuated by the "loftiest idealism" and "spirit of self-sacrifice" according to their own accounts, and only a materialist would dream of doubting their words. What worries some of us, however, is that such a mutual policy of "defence, not defiance" should have resulted in the complicated tangle of attacks and manifestations of violence which

They All at present disfigures the fair face of Europe. They all wanted peace, of course, yet somehow went to war. Why?

Imprisoned in this free country we have necessarily to rely on the British excuse. "It was the German," we are told, "who put us all to rout, but what he wants to fight us for we cannot well make out!" But stay! Mayhap he wants to convert us to his "system." Kultur! That's it! State slavery! Yes! it is to defend the innocent inhabitants of these isles against the monster of Bureaucracy that the Government declared war. The Belgian "defence" is stale; fresh piffle must be unearthed. That it is piffle the reader has only to carry his memory back to before the war to discover—if, of course, he cannot see in conscription, munitions acts, etc., sufficient evidence of the present power of British "militarism."

Liberals, Tories, and Labour men! Did they not all invite "us" to copy Germany? Where, pray, did they point to show the benefits of State old-age pensions, State insurance, State railways, State this, that, and the other, *ad lib*? What was the classic example of the prosperity (for some) induced by Protection? Germany, every time! The "system" which the perjured British Government professes to be fighting was being forced by them on their slaves as rapidly as it could be done before the war, while now, far from being checked, this tendency is being pushed forward more rapidly than ever. And why?

In spite of all their childish cant phrases, our

rulers know that it is only by copying the Germans and adopting scientific methods of economic and military administration that they can hope to win. Indeed, they admit it. Every fresh encroachment upon the liberties of the workers is necessary to win the War! Capitalist victory presupposes working-class slavery.

Britain Follows Germany. Let us look into this "system" a little more closely.

It is only since the middle of the last century that Germany has developed into a full-blown capitalist State. At that time she found her manufactures and commerce far behind those of her rivals, England and France. The possession of good seaboard had given these latter an appreciable start in the acquisition of colonies and the growth of a world commerce; and German statesmen recognised the necessity of scientific organisation if the leeway was to be made up. German capitalists saw that only by combined effort could they hope to compete successfully, not merely for international trade, but for their own home market. Here it should be noted that every nation which has entered the international commercial arena has first been forced by the competition of outside capitalists, to develop on capitalist lines in order to supply its own markets. Japan and China offer more recent examples of this, and the further behind in the race a nation is the more concentrated and determined is the effort needed to succeed. Hence the "aggressiveness" of Germany.

If the German State is fighting for world-power, as we are told, it is only because her rivals have already got a substantial share of that power beforehand.

Just as the State is the instrument by which a capitalist nation holds itself together, so it is the agent of its expansion. Consequently the Germans have paid great attention to the perfection of the State. They have developed the organ of class rule on scientific lines, with special attention to the concrete force by which the State acts, i.e., the armed forces.

It is the internal social administration of the State that concerns us here. The Germans realised that their dominion over their own wage-slaves must be made as secure and as economically as possible. Hence their "State slavery," which all social reformers are anxious to have their respective governments adopt.

It is said that the strength of a chain is that of its weakest link. The weak spots in the working class are the extreme young and the aged, the sick and disabled and the unemployed. They are financial burdens on their relatives, and a source of strain whenever the workers come into conflict with their masters, as in a strike, for instance. To get control of the workers in their

weak places became an object of German policy. The workers had already endeavoured by Trade Union organisation etc. to erect bulwarks against unemployment, sickness, and the like, so forth with the State undermined these independent efforts by introducing compulsory insurance with the funds in its own hands. With the assistance of State labour exchanges this enabled it to convert the unemployed into a regular strike-breaking army. In short, it organised the means whereby the masters could keep down their restless slaves. For the rest it acquired the power to throw the maintenance of the young and aged, sick and disabled, back on to the financially weakened workers at such times as it suited their purpose (e.g. in times of strikes), thus adding further to the strength of the masters' position.

By such means as these, coupled with technical education, the German State reduced its wage-slaves to the level of the most docile and productive in Europe. This accomplishment was a great asset in the struggle for commercial supremacy, and it speaks volumes for the success of its schemes that its rivals should set about imitating them.

Conscription and militarist control of the workers was the coping-stone on the edifice, and this has now been finally added to the British structure, fitting testimony to the value of "British Ideals." These "ideals" boomed once upon a time by the opponents of the "Servile State" (Bolton, Chesterton & Co.), are now abandoned by their champions as worthless in face of the testing reality of war.

This cant about the "German System" is, of course, amplified by minor forms of humbug. For instance, we are told that it is a fight of "right" against "might" what time the munition workers are speeded up to breaking point and "conscientious objectors" who refuse to exercise "might" receive scant mercy. We are told that it is "the last great war," while the masters are but strengthening their hands against the day when the "patched up peace" between capital and labour will dissolve and the CLASS WAR break out again with added fury. We invite our fellow workers to clear their minds of illusions, to study Socialism and organise to carry through with intelligent purpose the genuine "last great war."

E. B.

A REMARKABLE REPORT.

CAPITALISM CONDEMNED BY ITS OWN OFFICIALS.

At one time the reports of British factory inspectors stood as models to the world of fearless and truthful reports on industrial conditions. Marx and Engels made frequent reference to them. If the pioneers of scientific Socialism were alive to-day, they would, one feels sure, recognise in America the modern leader of the world in matters of labour statistics. Some years back a remarkable report of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics of Labour gave some startling facts regarding the increasing rate of exploitation of labour. So frank and outspoken, indeed, was that report, that it was suppressed by the powers that be shortly after publication. Nevertheless the facts had got abroad, and the ruling class could not undo the conscientious work of the State employed investigators. Now there is to hand the abstract of another report from the United States which seems likely to share the same fate. A Canadian comrade has kindly sent us the report of a committee appointed by the Toronto District Trades and Labour Council which gives many useful extracts from the published conclusions of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations appointed by the United States Congress. The report of that commission was drawn up by Basil M. Manley, and adopted by Chairman F. B. Walsh, J. B. Lennon, James O'Connell, and Austin B. Garretsen, the Commissioners. The report is so interesting, and so unexpectedly outspoken, that we make no apology for reproducing the major portion of the quotations, with acknowledgements, of course, to the Toronto Council.

Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations Appointed by the United States Congress.

The Commission was appointed with wide powers, one of which, to "seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon," was enough to make its report a historic one.

Some idea of the work undertaken may be gathered from the following: 740 witnesses were examined upon industrial subjects, 230 were affiliated with employers, 245 with labour, and 265 were unaffiliated with either group.

The report finds that the causes of unrest group themselves under four main sources, which include all the others.

CAUSES OF UNREST.

1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
2. Unemployment and denial of opportunity to earn a living.
3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of law.

4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations.

UNJUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME.

Discussing the first of these causes, the report summarises evidence showing that 44 families possess aggregate incomes totaling at least fifty millions per year, while between one-fourth and one-third of male workers in factories and mines, 18 years of age and over, earn less than \$10.00 per week, and only about one-tenth earn more than \$20 per week.

Inequality in the distribution of wealth and income is set forth as follows:

First, with regard to the adult workmen, the fathers and potential fathers, from whose earnings according to the "American standard," the support of the family is to be derived.

Between one-fourth and one-third of male workers in factories and mines 18 years of age and over earn less than \$10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earn less than \$15, and only about one-tenth earn more than \$20 a week. This does not take into consideration lost working time for any cause.

Next are the women, the most portentously growing factor in the labor force, whose wages are important, not only for their own support or as the supplement of the meager earnings of their fathers and husbands, but because through the force of competition in a rapidly extending field, they threaten the whole basis of the wage scale. From two-thirds to three-fourths of women workers in factories, stores, laundries, and in industrial occupations generally, work at wages of less than \$8 a week. Approximately one-fifth earn less than \$4 and nearly one-half earn less than \$6 a week.

THE UNDERPAID.

Six dollars a week—what does it mean to many? Three theatre tickets, gasoline for the week, or the price of a dinner for two; a pair of shoes, three pairs of gloves, or the cost of an evening at bridge. To the girl it means that every penny must be counted, every normal desire stifled, and each basic necessity of life barely satisfied by the sacrifice of some other necessity. If more food must be had than is given with 15 cent dinners, it must be bought with what should go for clothes; if there is need for a new waist to replace the old one at which the forewoman has glanced reproachfully, or at which the girls have giggled, there can be no lunches for a week, and dinners must cost five cents less each day. Always, too, the room must be paid for, and back of it lies the certainty that with slack seasons will come layoffs and discharges. If the breaking point has come, and she must have some amusement, where can it come from? Surely not out of six dollars a week.

Last of all are the children, for whose petty addition to the stream of production the nation is paying a heavy price in ignorance, deformity of body or mind, and premature old age. After all, does it matter much what they are paid, for all experience has shown that in the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount the children earn. This is the so-called "family wage," and examination of the wages in different industries corroborates the theory that in those industries, such as textiles, where women and children can be largely utilized, the wages of men are extremely low.

The competitive effect of the employment of women and children upon the wages of men, can scarcely

be over-estimated. Surely it is hard enough to be forced to put children to work, without having to see the wages of men held down by their employment.

This is the condition at one end of the social scale; what is at the other?

Massed in millions, at the other end of the social scale, are fortunes of a size never before dreamt of, whose very owners do not know the extent, nor without the aid of an intelligent clerk, even the sources of their incomes. Incapable of being spent in any legitimate manner, these fortunes are burdens, which can only be squandered, hoarded, put into so-called "benefactions," which for the most part constitute a menace to the state, or put back into the industrial machine to pile up mountains of gold.

SOME STRIKING FIGURES.

We have, according to the income tax returns, 11 families, with incomes of \$1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate income, totalling at the least fifty millions a year, are equivalent to the earnings of 100,000 wage earners, at the average rate of \$500.

The Commission quotes a statistician of conservative views as showing that the wealth of the U. S. A., as near as can be estimated, is distributed as follows:

The "Rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth.

The "Middle Class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

The "Poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth.

This means, in brief, that a little less than two million people, who would make up a city smaller than Chicago, own 20 per cent more of the nation's wealth than all the other 90 millions.

Between the two extremes of superfluity and poverty is the large middle class, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, professional men, skilled artisans, and salaried officials whose incomes are more or less adequate for their legitimate needs and desires, and who are rewarded more or less exactly in proportion to service. They have problems to meet in adjusting expenses to income, but the pinch of want and hunger is not felt, nor is there the deadening, devitalizing effect of superfluous, unearned wealth.

From top to bottom of society, however, in all grades of incomes are an innumerable number of parasites of every conceivable type. They perform no useful service, but drain off from the income of the producers a sum whose total cannot be estimated.

Besides the economic significance of these great inequalities of wealth and income, there is a social aspect which equally merits the attention of Congress. It has been shown that the great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American industry have already or will in a few years pass by right of inheritance to the control of heirs or to the trustees who act as their "vice regents." They are frequently styled by our newspapers "monarchs of industry," and indeed occupy within our republic a position almost exactly analogous to that of feudal lords.

These heirs, owners only by virtue of the accident of birth, control the livelihoods and have the power to dictate the happiness of more human beings than populated England in the middle ages. Their principalities, if it is true, are scattered and, through the medium of stock-ownership, shared in part with others; but they are none the less real. In fact, such scattered, invisible industrial principalities are a greater menace to the welfare of the nation, than would be equal power consolidated into numerous petty kingdoms in different parts of the country. They might then be visualized and guarded against—now their influence invisibly permeates and controls every phase of life and industry.

Dealing with the second cause of industrial unrest the Commission says:

As a prime cause of a burning resentment and a rising feeling of unrest among the workers, unemployment and the denial of an opportunity to earn a living is on a parity with the unjust distribution of wealth. They may on a final analysis prove to be simply two sides of the same shield, but that is a matter which need not be discussed at this point. They differ in this, however, that while unjust distribution is a matter of degree, unemployment is an absolute actuality, from which there is no relief but soul-killing crime and soul-killing charity.

DENIAL OF JUSTICE.

Under the head "Denial of Justice," found to be the third principal cause of unrest, the report cites numerous typical instances to prove, among many other charges, the following:

Seventh, that laws designed for the protection of labor in workshops, mines and on railroads are not effectively enforced except in a few states.

Ninth, that during strikes, innocent men are in many cases arrested without just cause, charged with fictitious crimes, held under excessive bail, and treated frequently with unexampled brutality for the purpose of injuring the strikers and breaking the strike.

A LIAR ON SOCIALISM.

It has for long been the custom to sneer at lawyers because of their readiness to undertake the dirty work of those able to pay. The more hopeless the case of a client the greater is the credit due to the lawyer who wins it, and many a practitioner has reached the front rank of his profession through the renown gained in a few cases where, by smart practice, he has spragged the wheels of the legal machinery and cheated justice.

To succeed, the lawyer must abandon principle and ignore truth, unless either will help to win his case. When he sums up a case he utilises anything and everything in the English language that will belittle the evidence against him or make his own case more imposing. Ridicule is one of his chief weapons, and misrepresentation, if neatly concealed, is perfectly justifiable according to prevailing ethics.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many lawyers, trained in this way, find no difficulty in transferring their energies to the political arena and winning distinction and position. The number of professional politicians who hold official positions in the Government, and who are, or have been, lawyers, proves the value of legal training to the ambitious politician.

Some people (Mr. H. G. Wells is one of them) seem to think that because there are so many lawyers in the House of Commons, they rule the country. A very little thought will show this to be erroneous. Access to the House can only be obtained upon the approval of a constituency, and each constituency, notwithstanding that it is composed chiefly of workers, only approves of candidates who run in capitalist interests. Consequently the lawyer who turns politician still serves the capitalist class. In his new capacity, however, he does work for which the capitalist has become unsuited, or is too indolent to perform.

In the legal profession, as in every other, competition is exceedingly keen, and many try the short cuts to success, but only succeed in covering themselves with ridicule. Many become quite desperate in their schemes and methods when they see the rich prizes won by their brethren. The field will only admit of a limited number; the orthodox parties are already overcrowded, and new aspirants must find new ways in which to serve "King Capital."

One of these ways which is exceedingly thorny, by the way—is to "expose" Socialism.

A barrister-at-law, by name Mr. Joseph Hurst, has met with some success in this direction, because he has up till now managed to elude Socialists. But his pamphlet "Socialism, What It Is and How to Meet It," has at last come our way. That this review is belated calls for no apology, as, apart from a deliberate lie in the body of the work which needs refuting, the pamphlet is scarcely worthy of notice.

Under the heading "What It Is" Mr. Hurst carefully informs us that when he speaks of Socialism he means by that term what Socialists mean by it, and says "I propose to confine myself to definitions and statements of Socialists themselves." After this he takes the "immediate reforms" of the late S.D.F. one by one. His criticisms are equally as absurd as the "immediate reforms" that suggest them, though not he, but the late S.D.F., is chiefly to blame for that: it is difficult to make dignified and sensible discussion out of ridiculous proposals.

Quoting one definition of Socialism as follows: "A system of society based upon the common ownership, and democratic control, of all the means and instruments of producing wealth, by, and in the interests of, the whole community, our author proceeds to enlarge upon it by stating that it means "Ownership in individuals, whether of land, or money, or houses, or goods, or business, or trade, is to go." Nevertheless, he does not attempt to show that such going will be detrimental to the interests of the working class, which forms, approximately, seven-eighths of the total population—a numerical preponderance which would enable them to abolish any social institutions which they considered unnecessary or harmful to their interests as a class.

At present the workers have no interest in any of the things Mr. Hurst is afraid will have

to go. Consequently, a change from the present capitalist system to a system where the workers would actually own all the means of wealth production and distribution, far from being detrimental to their interests, would emancipate them from capitalist slavery and give them control of the wealth they produce, the robbery of which, by the master class, is the cause of working-class poverty.

Of course, Mr. Hurst has no remedy for poverty. Lawyer that he is, he ignores the condition of the workers, his only concern being to fight Socialism, because it threatens the class he serves. He, therefore, proceeds to inform his masters how to meet it. "Tell it abroad and everywhere," he says, "what Socialism is, what its doctrines are, what it proposes in practice." If the Socialist were ignorant of what "lawyer" stands for, he might welcome such a method.

But if the Socialists suspected for one moment that this particular lawyer was about to play into their hands, a perusal of the remaining pages of the pamphlet would disabuse their minds, for they would find nothing but evasion and misrepresentation—the lawyer's idea of telling it abroad, what it is.

Mr. Hurst refers to Karl Marx as "a celebrated Socialist writer," ignoring entirely the scientific character of his work, and instead, crediting him with a utopianism that is still preached by so-called advanced Socialists like Bellamy, Shaw, and Wells. He says, "Marx proposes that time occupied by labour shall be the sole measure of payment, without regard to the ability of the worker."

Where the stupid proposals of the late S.D.F. are concerned the work and the page are carefully indicated, but when our lawyer author is misrepresenting Karl Marx not even the name of the work is given. The reason is obvious to those intimate with the works of Marx. Nowhere in his extensive writings could such a statement be found. Not only so: Marx never wasted a line or a word on utopian rubbish of that kind. He left all that nonsense to confusionists and cranks. The statement that Marx proposed such fatuous rot is a "first-class lie."

Marx had no time to waste on "Stories of the Years to Come," "Life in the Year Two Thousand," or similar dreamy and imaginative pictures of the future. He was only concerned with placing Socialism on a scientific basis; with showing the changing material conditions that made for social change and revolution; with revealing the class division in capitalist society; with tracing the development due to machinery; with the spreading of Socialist knowledge, and with pointing out the increasing antagonism of the two classes, which can only end in the recognition by the working class of the fact that the common ownership and democratic control of all the means of producing wealth can alone free them from capitalist slavery.

Marx needs no defenders: all that is needed is a Socialist Party to introduce him to the workers. Let those who have read the first-class lie of Mr. Hurst turn to the works of Marx, when they will discover the reason why no critic has been able to controvert him. He has assailed capitalism with such force and directness that its defenders dare not meet the attack honestly for fear of the publicity it would give to the works of Marx, and to the futility of their own puny efforts.

The Socialist Party takes its stand on the scientific works of Marx. In all the debates that have taken place between us and the opponents of Socialism the Marxian and only true Socialist philosophy has easily triumphed, as the reports will adequately prove. The attitude of critics like Mr. Hurst—who can only attack by misrepresentation and lies—speaks volumes in its favour and recommends it strongly to the workers.

The Socialist philosophy threatens the very existence of the system that gives a small class in society ownership and control of all the means of wealth production, and imposes on the working class the most hideous and degraded form of slavery the world has ever known—luxury and idleness—the lot of the ruling class. Socialism threatens their position, yet with all their wealth, their science, and the intellects prostituted to their interests, they can only meet Socialism with lies—or silence.

Continued on back page.

more poverty for the workers, for with the abolition of overlapping, the higher development of organisation and the scientific methods of production, fewer workers are required in the various undertakings so municipalised, and the result is a gradual worsening of conditions generally. Organise, then, for Socialism—which means the common ownership of the means of life.

THE SCOUT.

ANALYSIS OF WEALTH.

II. SURPLUS-VALUE.

In a former article under this heading the writer tried to show that the substance of value, the common property of all commodities as such, is social labour, measured by the time taken in its expenditure. He tried to show further that money serves as a measure of values, a standard of prices, and a medium of circulation, only because it is itself a commodity, that is to say, it embodies social labour in the same manner as do the articles for which it is exchanged. He tried to show still further that the production of commodities, i.e., articles for exchange, and the use of money are features of a certain stage of development in the means and methods of production and in the control thereof, and are destined to disappear with future progress.

We have now to consider money a little further in the form of capital in the process of accumulation, or in other words, the phenomenon of "money making money." For money in itself is not necessarily capital. Only when it is used for the purpose of adding to itself does it become so. When the independent producer (peasant or handicraftsman) brought his goods to market he received for them a certain sum of money which sooner or later he expended on articles of a different sort, largely for his own personal use and partly, of course, to buy fresh raw material, etc. To him the money entering transiently into his possession was not capital. Nor were the goods he sold, for he received in exchange goods of equal value. No interest, no profit, accrued to him in the transaction.

Otherwise it is with the modern capitalist with a sum of money, which is constantly expanding in volume. He buys commodities not for consumption by himself, but in order that in some form or other he may re-sell these commodities and realise a profit on the transaction. Apart from this profit his activities as a capitalist would be meaningless.

The independent producer bought commodities mainly in order to realise their use-value in his own person. The capitalist buys them only to throw them back into circulation and receive in return an increase in exchange-value. The simplest definition of capital, then, is money thrown into circulation only to be received back again with an increase to itself, which increase becomes part of the capital which is again advanced to return with a fresh increase.

This increase or profit Marx calls *surplus-value*. The problem of its origin is the central one in economic science, and its solution holds the key to an understanding of all the workings of capitalism.

The quest for profit is the mainspring of the present social order. Let us take the mainspring out of the case and examine it.

In the first place, it is obvious that money must go into circulation in order to increase itself. If it simply lay in a safe it would remain the same in quantity. Thus is the modern capitalist cuter than the old-fashioned miser. Being a "true Christian" he refrains from the stupid, worthless process of hugging his money to himself, and lets it go, believing implicitly in the words of his Lord: "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it, but whosoever loseth his life for my sake [profits] the same shall find it." But bearing in mind that on the average prices are determined by values, and these latter by the socially necessary labour embodied in commodities, it is also clear that the circulation of money cannot in itself give rise to profit. On the average the capitalist buys commodities at their values and sells them

again at their values. He exchanges equivalents, and unless some increase of value takes place between the two acts of buying and selling he can realise no profit. Various orthodox theories have tried to see the origin of surplus-value in the process of exchange. The investigation of these theories, however, shows them to be based either upon the confusion of use-value with exchange-value or upon the illusion that prices (and implicitly values) are determined by the arbitrary will of the owner of commodities or by mere chance.

In dealing with capital the scientific economist is concerned not with an accumulation of use-values, but of exchange-value in the form of money; which accumulation, moreover, is not made by one or a few capitalists at the expense of the rest, but by the capitalist class as a whole. The origin of surplus-value is, therefore, to be found in production, or in other words, in the productive consumption of the commodities originally purchased.

All commodities which are consumed in order to re-appear as new commodities may be said to be productively consumed. For instance, leather purchased by a boot manufacturer is consumed in the factory to reappear as boots. The boots, moreover, contain more value than the leather, since they embody additional labour. This additional value, however, is by no means necessarily surplus-value. Imagine, for instance, an independent boot-maker purchasing his own tools and raw materials and selling his own product. The value of the raw materials, etc., is transmitted to the finished product, which, in addition, contains the value added by the bootmaker's labour. The boots are sold for more money than was paid for the leather and the tools, but no surplus-value has been realised; money does not in this instance make money. The raw materials, etc., do not transmit more value than they themselves contain; all the increase is due to the bootmaker's labour. The difference between the original outlay and the price he gets for his commodity is simply equal to the value he has added. The effect is the same as if he had made no outlay but produced a new and distinct commodity and sold it. His money has not expanded itself; he has simply added to it. In short, it is not capital. Men do not become capitalists and wealthy in the modern sense by themselves adding value to natural objects. Rather, the increase of their wealth is obviously independent of their efforts and totally out of proportion to any they might make.

Nevertheless, seeing that all value is but the embodiment of labour, surplus-value, being a particular form of value, can only be derived from labouring in some fashion. Therefore in order to obtain surplus-value the capitalist must find in the market not merely ordinary commodities (which are incapable of producing for him more value than they themselves possess) but some commodity which actually produces value, i.e., labour. This commodity he finds in the energies of the modern wage-labourer. It matters little to the capitalist what other commodities he deals in. Food or clothing, luxuries or necessities, all alike embody labour, therefore it is the labouring commodity which he essentially requires in order to obtain profit.

When the capitalist purchases other commodities he buys congealed labour: labour which is past, dead, inactive. From them alone he can expect no increase of value. In buying labour-power, however, he secures the potential source of all further value. So far as he is concerned the special function of labour-power is to produce value and, above all, surplus-value. With the usefulness of labour-power in any other sense he is not concerned, any more than he is concerned with the utility of the goods he sells. Capital being but a sum of exchange-values, its sole passion is for its own growth by the production of more exchange-value, which means the continual consumption of labour-power. It remains to show how by this consumption surplus-value is actually produced.

Labour-power, like every other commodity, possesses an exchange-value, which is realised in a price, termed wages. The amount of this exchange-value is determined by the labour-time spent in its production. The average wages of any section of the working class depends upon the cost of its customary necessities of life,

including such special education as may be necessary in the branch of industry in which it is employed. It is obvious that wages cannot be long depressed below this standard without impairing the productive efficiency of the labourers' energies. On the other hand, if they rise far above this standard the surplus-value is encroached upon. For surplus-value is nothing more than the difference between the wages of the labourers and the sum total value of their product. Were the labourers in the habit of producing no more wealth than would keep them in working condition surplus-value would be impossible. The labour market, like the market for other commodities, is liable to fluctuations, but experience shows that these cancel one another, and that the general level of wages is such as will maintain the workers in their daily tasks.

But though the price of labour-power is limited in this way, the limit of surplus-value is simply the productivity of labour-power. Anyone purchasing a commodity acquires the use of it, and the capitalist only buys labour-power in order that he may use it up, i.e., set it to produce the greatest possible amount of exchange-value in the form of commodities. Here we may take examples from Marx ("Capital," Vol. I., p. 166).

Marx first supposes a capitalist advancing a sum of 15s. which is split up as follows: 10s. is the price of 10 lbs. of cotton; 2s. represents the value of wear and tear of machinery, etc.; 3s. is paid for the hire of labour-power. We have thus a sum of 12s. as constant capital, i.e., value which passes unchanged into the form of the finished product, yarn. This is assumed to be the product of two days labour of twelve hours each, i.e., two hours labour is embodied in a sum of 1s., or a commodity of that value. Supposing now that in six hours the 10 lbs of cotton are converted into 10 lbs of yarn. The yarn contains thirty hours labour; twenty-four being spent in producing raw material, etc., and six in converting it into finished product. Its value, therefore, is 15s., i.e., 1s. for every two hours labour.

Here no surplus-value is created, for 15s. was the sum originally advanced. By only working six hours the labourer has done no more than produce an equivalent of his wages, 3s., and the capitalist makes no profit.

Marx now gives a second case. In this the capitalist advances 27s. Twenty lbs. of cotton are bought for 20s., and 4s. is allowed for wear and tear. The labourer is paid his wages of 3s., but instead of working only six hours is made to work twelve, having exactly twice the amount of raw material to convert into yarn. This time the yarn represents 60 hours labour, 48 being contained in raw material and twelve being added in the process of spinning. If 30 hours labour are represented by 15s., then 60 hours are embodied in 30s.

The capital advanced was 27s., so that the capitalist makes a profit of 3s. when selling the goods in the market at their value.

These simple examples illustrate the whole character of capitalist production. Carried on as it may be with all due regard to legal forms, it yet consists of a process of robbery disguised by the exchange of equal values.

The capitalist certainly gives the labourer his "due," i.e., the value of his energies, or in other words, the cost of production of his commodity, labour-power, but if the labourer simply replaced this value the capitalist would gain nothing. For him the transaction is meaningless unless the worker produces far more than that, unless, in fact, his whole life-time becomes but a process of producing value.

In further articles the writer hopes to outline how capital in its lust for self-expansion pushes the exhaustion of labour-power to its limits. For the present it is as well to remember the cause of the subjection of labour-power to capital.

The worker sells himself (in the form of his energies) as a commodity. Why? His obvious motive is to obtain his price, wages. These, as we see, however, only represent sufficient to keep him in existence. It follows, then, that he lacks the means of subsistence and must purchase them, which still further implies that he does not possess the wherewithal to produce them. This is another point to be dealt with later.

E. B.

WAR CHIPS.

Horatio Tillet and Ben Bottomley have been at it again, cutting new sticks to beat the old enemy dog with. Invariably, however, the sticks beat both ways, and the heaters often get beaten hardest.

The other day I found in a train a copy of that shining example of capitalist journalism, "John Bull." In it that illustrious "labour" champion, Tillet, argues that it is the ruthless German war machine which still holds Europe in a hell of blood and flame. Only the German war machine, of course, is murderous and designed to make fillets of Tillet's! Naturally! At the same time other capitalist worthies sneer in glaring posters at the infamous "peace intrigues" treacherously engineered by the "Huns." It's such a terrible Hunnish business, to engineer "peace intrigues" and try to stop unspeakable slaughter and untold misery!

Those same worthies also keep emphasising the Allies' superiority in men, munitions, money and war-ships! There they are, waiting, those superior warships with superior guns and superior names! Of course they are not murderous war machines! Have they been built for catching rattle-snakes?

In December 1910, that is over four and a half years before the war, there appeared in the "New York Truthseeker" the following poem-prayer, which Tillet might advantageously learn by heart, he being so given to offering up prayers:

THE LAUNCH.

"At Portsmouth Dockyard, this morning, after a brief service of prayer, the Marchioness of Winchester successfully released from the slips H.M.S. *Orion*—the greatest warship in the world."—London Daily Paper.

O Thou who reignest King in Zion,
Look on us as we launch the *Orion*,
Designed Thine heavens to kill,
Obedient to the Heavenly will.

The captain from his conning tower
Directs with ease the deadly shower:
We use the very latest means
To blow our foes to smithereens.

With confidence we ask Thine aid
To make our enemies afraid;
Help us, oh God of love, right well
To blow the Germans into Hell.

This *Orion* on whose deck we stand
Is built to guard our Fatherland,
Look down, we pray, pronounce it good,
For thou, we know, art British blood.

The coal and iron in the earth
Were placed there at this planet's birth
To build and move these ships of ours,
To terrorise the other powers.

When on the sea this *Orion* roars,
Strike terror to the foemen's shores;
May all the shots it fires be hits,
And blow our brother men to bits.

Oh God of battles, by Thine aid
This mighty Empire has been made.
Inspire our tars with holy zeal
To murder for the common weal.

Some day we know that war shall cease,
And all mankind will be at peace,
'Till dawn when every foe is dead,
And all the maps are painted red.

Bless Thou our ships and guns till then,
The glory shall be Thine, Amen.
Our prayer is ended, yo heave ho!
Knock out the stays and let her go.

I give "John Bull" permission to reprint this timely poem in its illuminate pages, which enlighten those top-hatted and empty-headed City hooligans who snatch up that delicate catch-penny value.

Lately the ornament to British journalism in question has been celebrating its tenth birthday amid hymns of self-praise and self-glorification, in true keeping with its nauseous contents. It modestly claims to have made the world a better place; and all its prophecies have come so true, yea, much truer than truth itself! Take this, for instance: On July 11th, 1914, three weeks before the war broke out, "John Bull" had an article entitled "The Murdered Archduke," in which it tried to prove the complicity of the Serbian Government in that sordid business. Two columns of first-class blackguardism launched against "our gallant little ally," Serbia, calling her a gang of blood-stained regicides, etc., finished up as follows:

Need we say more? The next step is with Sir Edward Grey. Will he have the courage to deal with the matter as the facts demand? In any case we must have no diplomatic parleying and platitudinising. SERBIA MUST BE WIPED OUT!

Thus the great Horatio was right again! Serbia, alas, has been wiped out!
Need I say more?

Another publication, not far removed from the same stamp, seems the official blue-book on "German Outrages." Having read many stories of enemy treachery in our worthy patriots which had a decided tendency to shrink from the light of reasonable examination (for which they obviously were not written), I was full of hope to get at last some hard, solid, cast-iron official outrages and treacheries. Had again! So I am afraid I have to go back again to "John Bull," if someone will kindly leave another copy in the train.

Starting rather toward the back of the Blue-book so as to experience advanced thrills at the very beginning, I read on page 278 as follows:

Near Armentieres, some time in November, one morning about 6.30, the Durhams got surprised and retired; we reinforced to take the trenches. Our major led us up and we retook the trenches. Major C. . . put a field-dressing on the arm of a wounded German, and when he turned away the German shot him. We bayoneted him.

It seems quite good, at first sight—for Bill Higgins! Of course, some thinking person might impudently turn again that awkward light of closer examination on that short and sweet tale, and put a few ticklish questions. But ah, who told you to do this? This is not what the book was written for, is it? Look at the depicted situation. There lies the wounded Hun, apparently helpless, left behind in the trench captured by the British. The major himself, mark you, kind soul that he is, dresses his wound, leaving him with the rifle all the while! Majors are so kind—and they have such a lot of spare time on hand when they have just captured a trench! Further, is it such an easy thing to shoot with an injured arm? And so you may keep asking questions—if you don't insist upon a reply! "We bayoneted him" is the laconic finish. What did they do while the German shot the kind major?

On page 281 we read:

Captain, R.A.M.C.

At Troyon, on the Aisne, on 20th September (our first day there) about 12 noon, a number of Germans were seen coming over the crest of the hill in front of the West Yorks, holding up their hands and also holding up white flags. The officer in command of one company of the West Yorks ordered his men to lay down their arms and then advance to receive the Germans, who were to surrender. On getting within speaking distance he was informed in English that if they did not all surrender they would all be shot down. At the same moment the front (German) rank dropped on their faces and disclosed a machine gun behind. Moreover, the Germans in front had rifles on the ground beside them, which they took up and began firing. The company officer of the West Yorks was killed; the rest surrendered. This was about a mile from where I was. I was looking through my field-glasses.

On a section of the slaughter front length the men are ordered to lay down their arms and advance! Is it to have their arms free to give the "Hun" a hug that they lay down their weapons, or what? The officer was killed, the rest surrendered—no one is left to tell the tale. The captain witness was looking through his field glasses a mile away, yet—he heard the Germans talk in English! Marvellous!

There are the usual Red Cross and White Flag tricks in stately numbers, various shades, and different settings! Picture yourself a great Christian slaughter-field, just hundreds of miles of it. Up goes the German white flag; out jump the Tommies from their dug-outs like Jacks from a box, unprotected and unarmed, merely to be shot down by the treacherous "Hun"! Poor, simple Tommies! Kiddies playing "war" around our slum hovels know better than that! And it is generally a private or a N.C.O. who relates the tale. Frequently they mention many hundreds of men and numbers of officers killed, wounded, or captured by such methods. Are such occurrences not of sufficient importance

to be referred to specifically in despatches of the top Army bosses?

And then, of course, the girls. No German (and the enemy are all Germans) can, according to our worthy patriots, pass a woman without committing some outrage or other. Here are two extracts from one of the leading London newspapers:

RETURNED FROM GERMANY.

Some of the ladies, when seen by a Press representative, expressed their admiration of Germany, and one of them said she had no home in England and expressed regret that she had left Germany. "I wish I was back there now," she said. "I have been extremely well treated in Berlin, and when we were coming away there were huge cheering crowds on the station. You may be quite sure I shall go back again as soon as ever the war is over."

"Daily News," 8.2.16.

Frederick Brooks, alias Jones (28), a private in the Worcester Regiment, was remanded for a week at Plymouth on a charge of murdering Clara Gregory, aged 12, by strangling her in a field at Lower Compton.—"Daily News," 21.6.16.

War, of course, and for that matter the capitalist order (or disorder) in general, in peace and in war, is a fruitful breeding-bed for outrage and treachery, at any time and everywhere. And war itself, pure and simple, is but an outrage and a treachery at its best.

Higgins, Bill, when will you start thinking? H.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

A TYPICAL REFORM.

At the time that the OLD AGE pension measure was passed by Parliament it was pointed out in this journal that its chief purpose was to save the rates. It was to encourage old people to starve outside the workhouse rather than go in and be kept at treble the cost by the rate-payers. Evidence of this fact has been repeatedly given, and to-day, owing to the enormous increase in the cost of living, the old-age pensioners are dying off like flies. Such paragraphs as the following speak eloquently of this:

"LIFE ON 1s. 6d. A WEEK."

"If they can live on 1s. 6d. a week each and don't get starved, a good many of us eat too much," said the coroner at the inquest on a Bethnal-green woman aged 70. She and her aged husband had lived on the latter's old-age pension of 5s., out of which 2s. was paid in rent. Occasionally the man earned an odd 6d. The doctor said that death was not accelerated by want."

"Daily Chronicle," June 16.

After all, if people who have reached the age when the stomach has lost its elasticity will gorge themselves on 1s. 6d. a week they must expect to pay the penalty.

The same paper pointed out a short while back that, owing to the rising cost of food, old-age pensioners were being forced to apply for admission to public institutions, "Thus defeating the object of the Act."

The sentence I have italicised is significant; it is a fact not often admitted.

Another instance (from the "Daily Telegraph" of June 12th) throws a little further light on this capitalist reform. The comments of Dr. Waldo are worth thinking over.

OLD-AGE PENSION PROBLEM.

At Southwark, Dr. F. J. Waldo held an inquest on the body of Edward Heath, aged 85, who died in St. George's Infirmary. The evidence showed that the deceased was for some time in Christchurch Institution, S.E., and during that time his old-age pension of 5s. a week was in abeyance. Quite recently he left the institution, and on May 29 he visited the Customs and Excise office at the Hop Exchange with a view to having his pension renewed.

Questioned by the Coroner, Mr. James Murray, the Customs officer, said the deceased should have gone to the Post Office, got a form, and either brought it to witness or posted it. Coroner: Would you then have given him 5s.?

Witness: Oh, no; the form would have been sent to the Pensions Committee, and

probably a week or more would have elapsed before the deceased got his 5s.

Coroner: That looks like red-tape. This poor chap might have starved before his paper came back. If the deceased had no money to supplement the pension would you have given him the 5s?

Witness: Certainly I would.

Coroner: Surely that is wrong. A man cannot live on 5s a week! It has often struck me that the law wants altering. It is not the fault of the pensions officers, but I have had numbers of instances of poor people dying in a horribly neglected condition while trying to subsist on 5s a week. But for the pension they would probably have been in some public institution, where they would have been properly cleansed and cared for. In this case the deceased was encouraged to leave the institution and try and live on the 5s.

Dr. Thomas Massie said he believed that a very large majority of old-age pensioners did not go on the Poor Law at all.

The jury returned a verdict of accidental death, and added a rider to the effect that an old-age pension of 5s a week was not sufficient unless there was something to supplement it.

Coroner: In that case the pension is not an unmixed blessing.

In other words, when the ruling class grant us, with great flourish of trumpets and braying of asses, an epoch-making reform, it is all spook. It is their way of putting something into their OWN pockets. It is the hard-headed British working man who is the mug—every time.

W.

SCRAG-ENDS.

—O—

Lloyd George says that England can take every man off the land if required for fighting and get all agricultural work done by women. Lord Selborne says so many men have been already taken that the whole industry is endangered. Great minds think alike, we are often told—here, small minds differ.

The Christians are still busy praying about the war, not for peace, of course, but for more blood to be shed and that right quickly. So hurry up, my gallant youths, kill your enemies quickly, so that we can have all the dirty mess cleared up by Christmas Eve, and assemble once again in the old church to warble that sweet little ditty, "Peace on earth and mercy mild."

In spite of the pleadings of the War Savings Committee we remain an extravagant people; last month several more reckless Old-Age Pensioners squandered their weekly dollar and started themselves into "glory."

Mr. Asquith has been telling his constituents that it is only the knowledge that he enjoys their complete confidence which enables him to carry the stupendous burden of the Premiership. Well spoken, Herbert! You may beat David after all in the Swankers' championship.

"There are mills in which men are made to work 7 days a week for 12 hours a day, and in the 365 weary days of the year cannot make enough to pay their bills."

The above is an extract from one of President Wilson's speeches and has reference to conditions in the U.S.A., but it could be stated with truth about all countries where capitalism exists, whether they are Free Trade or Protectionist countries: capitalism being the universal cause of working-class misery, the only remedy for that misery is the universal abolition of capitalism—hence the S.P.G.B. SKEWER.

A REMARKABLE REPORT—Continued.

words, while intelligence and union among the workers would enable the latter to get rid of them in fact. And while it is pleasant to hear capitalism condemned by its officials, it is utter waste as far as we are concerned, if the facts disclosed do not make larger numbers of wage workers determined to get rid of the wages system that is so clearly branded in the report as a system of slavery.

Ed. Com.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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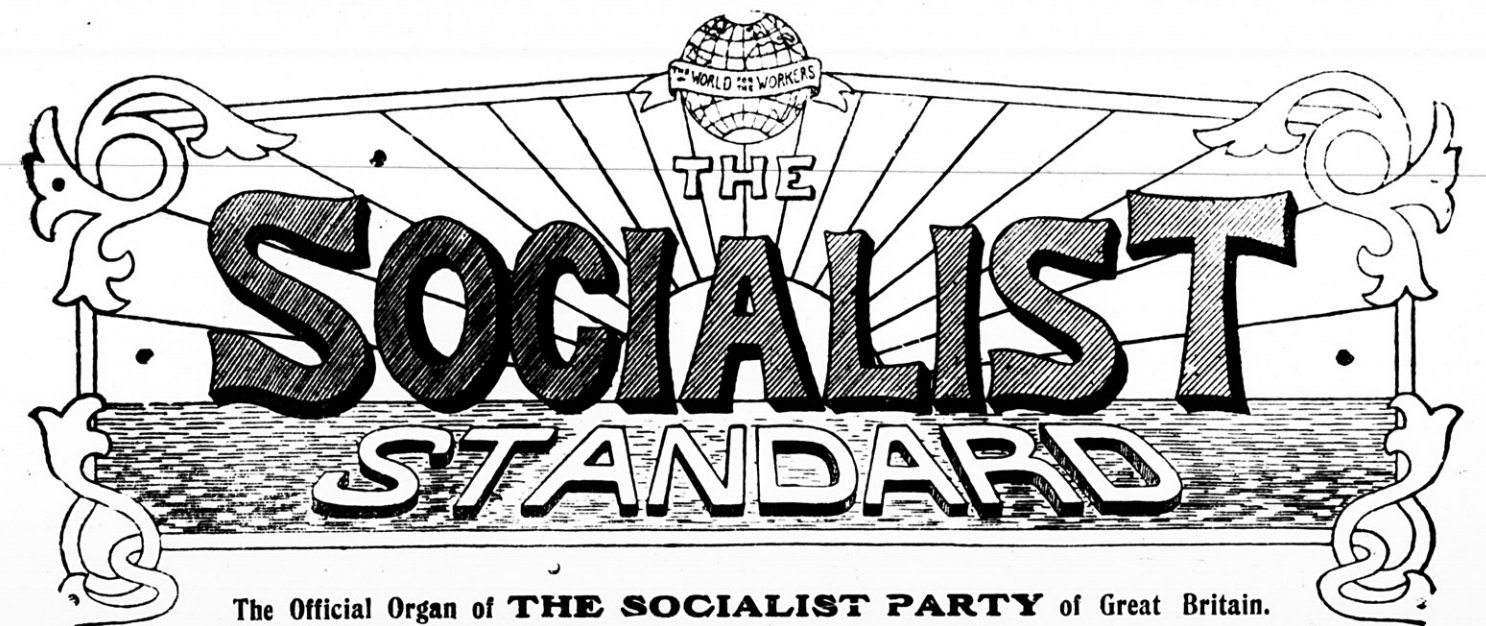
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LONDON, AUGUST, 1916.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

ARTISTS AND POTBOILERS.

A CHAPTER ON THE INCENTIVE OF GAIN.

Little apology is needed for the scanty mention of the European War in this chapter. In the contest every kind of cannon has now been used; every variety of dismemberment and death

been suffered; the whole thing is now grown monotonous and dull. **Let** When the French plains and the **Us** Flemish fields, the hills of Russia and the hills of Italy have been **Forget!** sufficiently dunged with rotten death to please the masters, the fighting nations will see that, far from any good coming to them from the bloodshed, it has resulted in a silly national division of the workers, which is not good, nor anywhere near good.

Let people for a moment forget all the ephemeral "Commissions," "Reports," "Investigations," "Leading Articles," "Booklets," and "Volumes" that are born of the war, and turn to matters of permanent interest; let people turn from the Newspapers to the Classic Books, from Cannon to Galleries, and they will see that the old delicate dramas, the fine new stuff, the sweetness of the masters in painting of Spain and France and Italy, the sunny Dutch work, the pallid Japanese, all the singular inspiration of China, the philosophy of Germany, all do, not merely at one time or another, but all times, peace or war, show the harmony of talents and disclose the comradeship of genius. The greatest of all nations are brotherly, and their fraternal work will help to bring peace permanently at last on earth: it will not be done with siege-guns, no matter how massive they be nor what powder they spittle. All Art nourishes the spirit of revolution; against the shape and cut of a book or chair or house as Morris did; against the shape or cut of the earth, as in Shelley.

Our masters know this and have in all ages endeavoured to alter the vital secular character of Art into a something rapid and servile; it must be changed, they said, from the passionate and wayward to the didactic and mechanical: they spoke with tongues of fire and their syllables were prisons. Artists were driven into all kinds of occupations quite alien to them: chiselling ships and barrels of muskets, allegories, chapel-altars, Samaritans, Virgin Marys, colouring monasteries, till a daring Italian boy of the thirteenth century started dreaming by his flock on the hills of Padua, and in the end found that the sight of his pregnant ewes was quite as inspiring as a pregnant Virgin. A new, self-reliant epoch commenced for Art, and the masters' fires, prisons, and titles since then have only scared the unsound, bribed the less keen and valuable, and filled the archives

Paying of Art with chronicles of sorrow. **the** Whether they be ancient or modern, whether they be Russian novelists, Dutch or French landscapists or English poets, they have prepared, and must prepare, in youth, for a life of affliction and a

ceremonious funeral; must have thought, must now think, that if the funeral ostentation is forgotten or neglected, posterity will, with bronze busts and posthumous marble, compensate them for the dismal doom they suffered and the misery they endured.

Marvellous boys like Chatterton, are not prepared to suffer the fate that the stupid and mercenary arrange: rather than a piecemeal death they end it all at once with a little acid. They think the worst acid better than the best editor. Some live on and fight. For this crime Dostoevsky is, in Russia, sentenced to death. The sentence is afterwards mitigated; instead of death he is sent to Siberia (which he named the House of the Dead) for ten years. Out of Norfolk we get a hard instance. Old Crome, "the glory of the English landscape school" as he is now called by preface writers, was set on coach painting in Norwich. In the evenings and on Saturday afternoons, when he was not lining spokes and yellowing wheels, he did, in oils, the moons over Norfolk pastures, over massive scalloped cows; shipping by the riversides he did after the manner of Hobbema, and Mousehold Heath with its chalk pits, donkeys, characteristic mills, as only Crome could—the lot to be sold for not many shillings. That picture of his in the London National Gallery was once divided in two and the halves, when separately sold, brought him four guineas! It is very hard when a

The Preface Writer cannot say an **Martyrdom** artist's unhappiness is due to a girl. Gainsborough, too, had to leave his "Market Carts," his "Stricken Oaks," his "Pools," his "Sunsets over Devonshire Moors," and for his pence, with his oils, flatter the fussy Duchess and the soft Earl.

Also there was a Dutch painter born in a windmill some few hundreds of years ago. Rembrandt van Ryn. He put his hand to the palette and passed many a terrible day, for he did as his genius dictated. The feudal owners of much of the Dutch wealth did not like his Rabbis and washerwomen and singular mills and did not buy them. He was in the end driven from his Amsterdam shanty; he took his wife, children, and paints from house to hovel and then along to humbler hovel. His name is now highest on the auction-room price list.

Last century a sad French boy worked a plough in Normandy. Until he was twenty, in his little leisure, he did, with charcoal only, sketches of beautiful country or the raw-boned, decrepit Frenchmen on the neighbouring farms. Eventually this mighty ploughman lived in Barbizon, a sad, colourless village jostled by massive, dark woods. He did then, as Rembrandt in Holland, follow where his talent of sorrow led. The Frenchman's end was similar to the Dutchman's. If joy isn't yet, persecution

is international. No one for many years would buy his "Dung Spreaders," his "Peasants Reposing," his "Potato Diggers"; so his suffering was distinctly hard, even in the catalogue of the hardships of artists.

An "My wife will be confined next **Odious** month and there is nothing in the house. I do not know **Comparison.** where to get my month's rent."

he wrote to Theodore Rousseau. He was found without fire or food. He was praised a little in the Press, but critics "Charm ache with air and agony with words." Christy's and Agnew's know the man—they have lately sold one of his six-inch by five canvasses, of a "Shepherdess knitting," for a thousand guineas. He painted "The Cleaners" and "The Angelus"—his name is immortal, Jean François Millet.

Under capitalism the man with colour schemes is no match in the market for the man with financial schemes: it is the nightingale against the vulture.

I could give instance after instance of the sorrow and pain which the talented in an enslaved community must endure if they watch or listen to the loveliness of the earth and then in any way tell it to others. The good men will cross the world, and, while a masterful class holds factory and field, while the democracy is content to be put off with an education, incomplete, suitable for commerce and nothing more, they must go without encouragement from the mass, without money from the opulent; their telescopes will be broken in two, they will be sent, starved and pale, to their palettes, and in rags to their violins.

But where in this record does the incentive of gain crop up? If, as the merry masters say, it is for gain the best and the worst work, why do not the greatest leave their permanent, sincere work (which leaves them lean) and win gold with the transitory, the false, and the easily understood? To hear our rulers speak one would think the poet sings because he wants butcher's meat and wholemeal bread. He sings for nothing of the kind. He sings, as he draws breath, naturally, and he would die if he did not. It is idiocy to think he sings because it is hard to live, because engines and lands are privately owned, and would cease to sing to a wider world under Socialism.

One Word It is impertinence to say he **about** sings at the bidding of silver and gold magnates and wouldn't sing to a supreme democracy. As long as skies are blue and fields are green he will compose, whether dividends change or do not, whether money is or is not, whether the world listens or does not.

That, too, is the secret of the strength of the influence of minorities.

One word about potboilers: we must never

let them take up too much time. The artist is only hard hit when he stands tenaciously by his ideals. Some are, however, forced into apostasy or monotony, endeavour to repeat old masters, not because they are born rogues, not through any natural or youthful desire to emulate what is glorious, but because potboilers pay better. So we have a houseful of Academicians like La Thangue, with his geese, puddles, and red-hot, boozy-looking suns, his grizzly stacks with one star out beside a skinny, stippled moon; a host of others doing silly, whitish Samaritans on shivering nags in a somewhat English, damp Egypt; Leader who decorates Devonshire property with honeysuckle, spic and span labourers, Flaxman china, best food, best wives, best children. It will not profit us much to consider the yellow lies and pink apostasy of the other fellows who settle or pervert the national learning or taste in art. I need only say that a literate democracy would not have repetitions of dead masters, being familiar with the originals; being atheistic, would not care whether the pallid Nazarene was in Egypt or out of it; being intimate with the fields would detest Leader's landscape puddings. Under Socialism we will with our schools banish ignorance, with our Science banish Paradise, with our Art banish Academy sunsets and in consequence banish Academicians.

The work of the potboilers is made to be understood: it is fitted for dronish intellects; it prospers under the hand of the aristocrat. On

the other hand the work of the artist is always bewildering to the characterless slaves of his own particular generation and becomes the wonderment and delight of a remote posterity. But through illiteracy, which the Board Schools of the masters are instrumental in perpetuating, the worker takes small interest in Art. By cunning he is deprived of intellectual health and liberty, as he is of bodily entertainment and rest; he is separated from Beethoven and Corot as from his loom and meadow.

It will be seen from the few illustrations I have given that while a few millions master the wonders and riches of the earth, the pictures, like the plough, the beautiful and the useful, will be the property of those who have too much gut to be satisfied with food and too little brain to be edified with Art.

The poem like the engine, the landscape picture like the land, to do good must be freely held by the democracy. To get this we must, by the unity of the workers of the world, destroy the tyranny of those who have not enough intelligence to produce any music nor sufficient diligence to sow wheat. Socialism means the ownership, by the community, of all society's vital machines and land, and a redistribution, in consequence of that possession, of books, pencils, and violins. With these things, and the life-long love of comrades, we will become the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon.

H. M. M.

BY THE WAY.

The continued absorption of the men of military age has had the effect of bringing in its train a greater demand for children and women to take the place of those workers who are thus removed from agricultural and industrial pursuits, in order that the latter may be trained in the art of scientific slaughter.

During the past month or so much has been said and written with regard to the employment of children and the question of education. Just recently, in the House of Commons, Mr. Arthur Henderson (Labour [!]) M.P., speaking as President of the Board of Education on the Education Vote, let fall the following remarks:

The question of child-labour had excited much apprehension. . . . The Board had impressed local authorities to make full inquiries into the cases of children employed in agriculture. The Board would regard it as a very grave misfortune if large numbers of children were employed at an early age.

He expressed his gratitude to the Board of Agriculture for their co-operation with the Board of Education, yet in spite of their efforts the number of children engaged in agriculture had nearly doubled. It showed that by-laws were being relaxed without proper care and enquiry.

—“Daily Chronicle,” July 19, 1916.

If one was able to shut one's eyes to the fact that the speaker was a Labour Member (and consequently was in the House of Commons supposedly in the interest of the working-class) it would be very easy to view the observations recorded above as an apology by an ordinary capitalist politician for jeopardising the education of this country's future wage-slaves. But stay a moment! Is not this hon. gentleman identified with the party who used to advocate “the raising of the age of child labour with a view to its ultimate extinction”?

Another speaker who joined in the discussion said that he believes the President's estimate of the number of children of school age employed in agriculture was far below the mark, and further suggested that the grant, or a large part of it, should be withdrawn from local authorities if they yielded to popular clamour and for the benefit of farmers robbed the children of their “birthright.”

We of the Socialist Party have, in season and out of season, insisted that the question of education is one which primarily concerns our masters. They do not educate the children because they desire them to become more intelligent, but because of the increasing development in the modern means of production and the higher education of the wage-slaves of other

lands. This point has been referred to on many occasions by Lord Haldane, and even quite recently he emphasised the need of a far higher system of technical education. Therefore, if our masters desire to retain their supremacy as a commercial nation, they will see to it that the future wage-slaves shall be trained accordingly, and hence the grave concern of a small but intelligent section of the capitalist class at the invasion that is taking place in the ranks of the children of school age. Further confirmation of this is to be found also in Mr. Henderson's speech, wherein he stated that

The war has also brought home to us that our national prosperity and security demanded greater concentration of intelligence on problems of industry, commerce and public administration. He was glad to say that the Department had not failed to prepare for a re-conquest of the ground they had lost, but had taken steps to go much further than before after the war was over.

Whilst I am on this topic there is one item which, perhaps, would not be amiss. It was recently stated in the Press that there were “cases of children attending school who were too sleepy to be taught owing to working early and late.” This was mentioned at the Frome (Somerset) School Attendance Sub-Committee meeting. The report continues:

One boy of 11 milked seven cows night and morning and then went to school. He started work at five o'clock and had reached Standard II. The Chairman said he knew of a case where the teachers complained that children engaged on farm work were too tired to do anything when they got to school. —“Daily News,” June 27, 1916.

One can understand the position of the teacher who has to impart information and instruction to children whose mental and physical energies have been sapped ere they reach the classroom. This evil is, of course, not confined to war time only; it is an inevitable consequence of capitalist society, but to-day it is more pronounced. Here is a glorious opportunity for the idlers of modern society—those who heretofore have never done anything useful in the community—to do what they are so fond of prating about, work of “national importance.” Will THEY do it?

To the teachers, parents, and members of the working class we send out our gospel of salvation. Study the position of your class; realize that you are many and the drones are few; help to speed the day when the exploitation of yourselves and your children shall be relegated to the past; and join with us of the Socialist Party to assist the ushering in of a new society, wherein “poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.”

For some time past we have heard a lot of talk about what our patriotic bosses are doing for those who have “done their bit.” We have

grown accustomed to hearing that after this war “our heroes” are not to sell matches and bananas for a living, but at long last they are going to receive recognition of tasks achieved and duty done. Without here touching on the subject of pensions (which is engaging a large amount of attention in the Press), I will pass on to an advertisement which caught my eye in the “Daily Chronicle” of July 21st. Here it is:

Army or Navy men wanted who have done their bit; bring discharge papers; salary 28s. per week to start with.

There's generosity for you; 28s. a week for those who have “done their bit.” The Lord only knows what the remuneration would be for those outside the condition above stipulated.

Our right reverend father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, recently wrote to the Prime Minister with regard to the plea of the World's Evangelical Alliance that the second anniversary of the outbreak of war be made a national day of prayer by Order in Council. The reply of Mr. Asquith was a materialistic one, for he and many others, though giving lip-service to orthodox religion, place more reliance in shot and shell than in the efficacy of a day devoted to national prayer. Which reminds one that another gentleman in days gone by was once alleged to have said: “You may pray to God, but keep your powder dry.” However, let me quote:

I have received your letter. . . . I am not prepared to recommend that Friday, August 4, be proclaimed a day of national penitence and prayer. I must point out that Monday and Tuesday, August 7 and 8, are declared Bank Holidays.

The suggested Proclamation would enforce a stoppage of work throughout the country on the previous Friday, and would not, I think, conduce to the result which is desired.

I think that the community will readily respond to the proposal that services should be held on that day in churches of all denominations throughout the country, and I believe it to be more in accordance with general thought and feeling that the State should not intervene in the manner suggested. —“Daily Chronicle,” July 1, 1916.

We have from time to time commented upon the £. s. d. point of view of obtaining recruits for the Army. The following is decidedly frank and honest:

In granting exemption to a farm hand, aged 30, with nine children, the Ramsbury (Wilts.) Tribunal expressed the opinion that it would be cheaper to keep him at home. —“Daily Mail,” June 24, 1916.

During the period immediately following the passing of the Compulsory Military Service Bill for single men, there were many outbursts in the House with regard to the methods of roping in potential recruits. Reference was made to the destruction of medical certificates of rejection and those who held them were forced to undergo further examination. Such were the methods used then and ultimately condemned by Mr. Tennant when he could no longer maintain a policy of official ignorance on the matter. Despite all promises of reformation, and the period of time which has since elapsed, we find the following condemnation of the methods adopted by the military authorities:

Improper treatment of men who have been sent to Warley for medical examination was made the subject of a strong protest to the War Office yesterday by the Ilford Tribunal.

It was stated that the men were asked by the medical authorities to sign a blank card which would be sealed up afterwards and sent to the military authorities. This the men refused to do, and they informed the Tribunal of the fact.

Mr. Middlemas, the military representative, took exception to the treatment of these men and said it was scandalous, and he himself had written a strong letter of protest. —“Daily Chronicle,” July 22, 1916.

Much ink and paper has been used to present in lurid terms the “awful frightfulness” of the German. But lo and behold! in due course come pen pictures of the “frightfulness” of the ruling class of Britain and her Dominions. We have in time of peace heard a great deal about the “master mind” and the “directive ability” of our bosses, and with microscope in hand we have set out to discover these qualities which it is alleged belong to our masters. I have in mind the “gamble” of the Dardanelles and the Mesopotamia campaign particularly at the moment,

though numerous other items might be mentioned. That the question is a serious one may be gathered from the fact that the Lords, spiritual and temporal, appear to have been the first to publicly discuss it. Now for the indictment:

The Duke of Somerset said he had an opportunity that morning of reading three or four very long letters from officers who had been serving in Mesopotamia. He could assure their lordships that the cruelties our men must have suffered through the utter incompetence of the authorities, both in India and at home, were simply disgraceful. They knew what the Belgians suffered and they knew also what our own men suffered when taken prisoners by the Germans at the beginning of the war. But our men were suffering very much worse than they had ever suffered through the brutality of the way in which things had been managed in Mesopotamia. What they had suffered was perfectly indescribable.

He would give one or two instances, in one case a thousand wounded were sent down in a ship with one medical officer and one orderly to look after the whole of them. They were all mixed up together, officers, British soldiers, and native soldiers. There were men with dysentery and men with shattered limbs all in the same ship, and there was not a bit of morphia or a drop of chloroform. One officer who was sent down wounded never had his wound dressed from the time he was picked up until he got to Bombay.

“Who is to blame God knows,” he added. “There must be somebody to blame here, and, as for India, I think the officer in command of the troops there must be terribly to blame.” —“Daily Telegraph,” July 14, 1916.

“Dardanelles Treaty. Russia promised both sides of the Straits,” are headlines which recently appeared in the “Daily Chronicle” (19.7.16) over a short announcement with regard to the return of the Russian Parliamentary delegates to Russia. The item of news goes on to state that “the most interesting statement was made by Professor Miliukoff, the former Liberal leader, who, according to the *Russkoe Slovo*, said:

The most important question in which we were interested was the problem of the Dardanelles. An agreement has been made between Russia and her allies according to which we are promised both sides of the Straits.

Who said we are fighting on behalf of Belgium? THE SCOUT.

THE IRISH QUESTION IN HISTORY.

Ever since the general election of 1885, when, according to Mr. Barry O'Brien, the genius of Parnell compelled Gladstone to propagate the Irish question in England, the English Liberals have assumed an attitude of pity and commiseration towards Ireland. That country is an unfortunate sister nation—cartooned in picturesque rags with a broken-stringed harp—riven with internal discords and steeped in poverty. Her sons, we are told, emigrate in streams because they are denied the right of self-government. It were, perhaps, more true to say that Gladstone and the Liberals generally have recognised the value of Home Rule as a shibboleth to lure the workers of both countries into the frothy whirlpool of capitalist politics.

The great mass of the Irish workers live out their lives troubling themselves about Home Rule no more than the ordinary English worker concerns himself about Liberalism. Still less would they interest themselves were it not for the campaign of lies, threats, and gloomy prophecies continually waged by the Irish ruling class and their agents, for it is among that class that discord reigns, and the sympathy of the English Liberals is for their brother capitalists in Ireland, who carry their political differences to such an extremity that capitalist law and order are threatened and the workers themselves are being supplied with precedents and weapons for an organised movement along the line of physical force.

There is no essential difference between the capitalists of England and Ireland. Both are characterised by the same greed for gold, the same ambition for power, the same hypocrisy and corruption. When the capitalists of Ireland in the 18th century, handicapped by the restrictions placed on their trade by the English Government, pleaded, as a part of the British

Empire, equal trade rights with the manufacturers of England, the latter, with their usual bigotry and selfishness, utilised all the machinery at their disposal—chambers of commerce and political organisations to maintain their monopoly of the world's markets and exclude Irish capitalists from successful competition with them. Nor is discord common to the Irish ruling class alone. The struggle for power between the landed aristocracy and the trading section in England has more than once reached a stage of bitterness equal to anything that has been seen in Ireland.

If the workers of Ireland would but dip into the history of their masters' country, their faith in Home Rule as a panacea for their troubles would quickly vanish. The leaders they now so patiently tolerate would be suspects and criminals. For like Lloyd George, who swore that three years of Liberal rule would wipe poverty from out the land, the Irish Nationalists bait their ambitious schemes with fair promises of prosperity for the working class.

When the workers of Ireland, grown desperate with poverty and excessive toil, have fought their masters for a slight improvement in wages and conditions, have the Nationalists extended help or sympathy? On the contrary, they have always been on the side of the oppressors. Right through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the political leaders of Ireland were engrossed in the question of their rights and powers to govern Ireland. Every hostile movement by sections of the people, though admittedly the outcome of poverty and injustice—was met with brutality and oppression. The Irish Parliament in the eighteenth century frequently solicited English aid to put down the armed risings of famished peasants.

Arthur Young, Fitzgibbon, and many others depict in eloquent language the dire poverty of the agricultural labourers—a favourite pastime with the well-to-do, even to-day, at the mercy of the numerous gangs of middlemen who rented lands from absentee owners, and sublet them again and again, till the labourer had to work out the rent of his plot at fivepence a day. Even then his exploitation was not complete, for out of his product he still had to fatten the lying and treacherous priest with tithes.

Politicians, absentee middlemen and priests were all Irish—the usual patriots; their love of country measured by their opportunities to filch wealth and snatch positions. The same motley crowd we are acquainted with to-day; money-changers, exploiters, and kidnappers. Seats in the House of Commons or in the House of God were bought and sold like cheese and pork. Bribery and corruption were nearly as rampant as to-day.

Though the Irish working class were ruled by their own countrymen, though they had a parliament and a House of Lords all to themselves, they were goaded to desperation and lawlessness by the poverty and oppression they suffered at the hands of their rulers. And those rulers, like their descendants, held them in the loftiest contempt. The working class were often described by Irish legislators as “ignorant savages,” and Grattan, with a candour that would be impolitic to-day, summarised the attitude of the master class of his time towards the workers in the following crude sentences:

The best method of securing the Parliamentary constitution is to embody in its support the mass of the property, which will generally be found to include the mass of the talents. For if you transfer the power of the State to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property.

The class that owned “the mass of the property” in Ireland exercised, during the last twelve years of the eighteenth century, absolute control over the political machinery; yet through all the fluctuations of trade the poverty of the workers increased and all their efforts—chiefly taking the form of the boycott—were suppressed with fury by their countrymen, who took no steps to alleviate their misery or redress their grievances. Exactly how much the representatives of property cared for their country or its independence was shown in their final act of betrayal. Grattan, who was in a position to know the facts, stated that not more than seven of those who voted for the Union were unbribed. This was the culminating treachery of rulers

who had preached the peridy of England, and demanded the fullest measure of self-government as the only means by which the wrongs of the Irish people could be redressed. Twelve years after their demands were conceded, they, for personal bribes, handed their country over to the enemy.

The intervening years have not changed the position unless it is for the worse. The working class are still held in the same contempt by their rulers. Corruption and bribery have increased, though constant practice in deception and fraud have qualified our rulers to conceal their crimes by sophistries and an affectation of dignity and rectitude. Here and there in the history of the Irish movement, since the Union, a man has stood out from the rest, honest in his beliefs and implacable in his hatred towards the enemies of his country, but the majority have been sordid place-hunters and cared nothing whether they sat at Westminster or Dublin. Their ambition, like that of the labour leader, is to sit in the governing assembly, share the power, and take any additions to their fortunes that might come their way as a result.

But if Ireland has been a hunting ground for ambitious politicians, it has also been the home of ignorant and superstitious leaders. Catholic priests and Protestant clergy have used their influence and authority to foment religious strife, which had no existence till after the Union. The Catholic priests were so deeply involved in the political game that they helped to collect the forty thousand pounds that Parnell squandered on himself and Mrs. O'Shea. Everyone knows the methods of the Protestant clergy; how the orthodox Church bolsters the Tories and the Non-conformists buttress the Liberals, and both assist to rope in the workers to the support and sanction of capitalist government.

At the first mention of a Franchise Bill in Ireland the Protestants declared against its extension to the “ignorant Catholics,” and the same attitude is apparent to-day in the objection of Irish Protestants to Home Rule, on the grounds that it would give the Catholics political control. Whence comes this opposition if it is not the result of conspiracy between clergy and politicians?

The Irish movements of the eighteenth century, the “white boys,” the “oak boys,” etc., were movements of the workers. Sometimes they were directed against the middlemen and sometimes against the title system, though not often the latter. They were secret organisations and the Government found it extremely difficult to deal with them. But when they developed into an open volunteer movement, widely extended, and holding congresses at Dublin and elsewhere, the Government quickly permeated it with their tools and agents and subverted it to their own uses, finally incorporating it in the regular Army. Since that time the working class of Ireland have never succeeded in organising for anything without the help or interference of capitalist tools or agents. The Fenians were nobbled by Isaac Butt and outwitted by Parnell. All their organisations from the “Land League” to the “Ulster Volunteers” or the “Molly Malones,” have been composed of workers bluffed and cajoled by political prostitutes and adventurers.

The main fact that claims our attention is that Ireland has been subjected, from the commencement of the capitalist period, to various forms of government—government by undertakers appointed by the British Cabinet, self government, partial and complete, and government by representation in the British House of Commons. But under none of these forms, nor in the changing of them, can it be claimed that the working class were affected. It is true that poverty has become more general and acute over the entire period, but that is due to the development of the system, and is common to every capitalist country.

The latest blunder of the Irish working class is in the support given to the Sinn Féin movement, which seeks to establish a republic, with the examples of France and the United States before them proving conclusively the futility of such an experiment to abate their ever-growing poverty.

The form of government makes no difference to the workers. Government implies subjects.

Continued on next page.

The problem was brought within reach of the minds of British statesmen by one or two existing facts. In the first place Germany, the enemy of the moment by reason of her superior industrial development, had already gained such ascendancy in Turkey as rendered her conquest eventually of the historic sea outlets a foregone conclusion—and better Russia than Germany. On the other hand opportunity was ripe for Russia, who found herself provided with both the excuse and the means to carry out her long-

Of course the execution of Captain Fryatt was murder—foul, brutal, and stinking. But our masters want us to view it as something standing in a class by itself, something typically and peculiarly German; but in truth it is nothing of the kind. It is simply another capitalist outrage upon a member of the working class, committed to suit capitalist ends, and accepted and exploited by other capitalists to fan the flame of hatred and feed the declining war-fever. That is our judgment of all these “atrocities.”

Readers may remember that in the early days of the war we were moved to hilarity by the attempt of the Press to convince the workers that the Russians were fighting to liberate themselves from the German influence which prevented them from becoming a free and democratic nation. All that savage tyranny which may be symbolised in Siberia and the knout was laid to

It is a false notion of the Sinn Feiners and Nationalists that the Irish workers must **struggle** for national independence before they can tackle the problem of poverty. But the working class everywhere is under one capitalist government or another. To split territories, set up new governments, or to re-establish old ones will not help them nor even simplify the problem. Their only hope lies in the speedy establishment of Socialism. They must join hands with the workers of the world, and make common cause against the ruling class. They must make ready for the last war—the war of **classes**, in which classes must be abolished and a real equality established on the basis of "common ownership and democratic control of all the means of life." F F

For many thousands of years now, the division into conflicting classes has been an outstanding feature of all the most advanced societies. Under the system of chattel-slavery, upon which basis the earliest forms of civilisation were reared, patriotism took an openly class character. Although the slaves were an integral, and

Patriotism, of all creeds, has appealed most to the master class in its efforts to find a substitute for religion, and consequently it is being pushed with greater persistence year by year. It is easy to see why this has been so. A patriotic working class kills several birds with a

But that time is not yet. To-day more than ever in the past is the clarion call of '48 a vital and a stirring necessity, to awaken the giant frame of labour to shake off the leeches which suck his blood and fetter his might:

**"WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE!
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT
THE CHAINS WHICH BIND YOU, BUT
YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN"**

R. W. HOUSLEY.

GRAVEYARDS.

Whether we look at the manifestations of the capitalist system of society from a historical standpoint, or view the effects of its workings at the present time, there is every reason why the system should be abolished. Apart from the fact that it has given birth to and developed the means of production so that it is possible to produce wealth in abundance, capitalist society has since its inception a record worse than which it would be almost impossible for the human mind to conceive. For years now the workers, who alone produce the world's wealth, have had a greater struggle to exist, in spite of the marvellous increase of wealth production due to improved machinery and methods. Not only is it true that the workers are in greater poverty relatively to the amount of wealth produced, but they are beaten, broken, and done to death in their struggle for a dull, monotonous existence. Factories, mills, mines, and the like are veritable death-traps, "accidents" poisoning of one kind and another, and consumption finds victims by tens of thousands.

We know that of recent years the Press has published the heart-rending news of explosions in mines with their great loss of life, and that the customary enquiry has produced evidence proving beyond honest dispute that had the mine-owners taken reasonable precautions the terrible loss of life would have been avoided. We know that Lloyd George, at the behest of the ship-owners, raised the load-line of ships so that the owners might get greater profits at the expense of seamen's lives. It is hardly necessary to refresh the memories of our readers with reference to railway disasters and the appalling waste of railwaymen's and passengers' lives.

After every railway disaster the usual enquiry of the Board of Trade official takes place; the scapegoat is invariably an employee. The railway directors escape all blame. In the "Nineteenth Century Magazine" for June appeared an article on railway administration in Great Britain, from which is quoted the following scathing criticism.

What is the Board of Trade record in this connexion? It is shameful. Our percentage of killed and wounded on railways is nearly twice what it is in France. After every accident, there is the same heartless mockery, the same condemnation of a perfectly innocent engine-driver or signalman, found guilty of being human, of having failed to do the duty the human machine is not capable of doing: a duty which it is biologically impossible for him to carry out with the requisite degree of certainty. It is the duty of the Board of Trade official, as specified by Act of Parliament, to enquire into the cause of railway accidents, and advise and enforce the proper remedy. The Board of Trade official knows that the cause of 90 per cent. of railway accidents is one locomotive running into another, and he knows that the remedy is to install apparatus which would render the recurrence of such accidents a physical impossibility. He knows that the engine-driver or signalman as the case may be, who has been guilty of the inevitable biological lapse, is as innocent as the policeman who stands at his elbow in the dock. He knows that the really guilty persons are the railway managers and he himself: the railway managers because they have neglected to make the inevitable accident an impossibility, and he himself, because he has neglected to employ the authority vested in him by Parliament to force the adoption of the necessary preventive measures. The procedure in these so-called Board of Trade inquiries is nauseating in the extreme. The real points of importance are purposely avoided. Why does not the Board of Trade official enforce the remedy he knows so well? The explanation is obvious enough. He knows that the installation of preventive measures will mean a legitimate expenditure of railway money on a large scale, and that this will deplete some railway dividends, and absorb others altogether. He knows that this would cause an immediate outcry from the railway shareholders en masse, that real enquiry would follow, and that the miserable sham in which he is a partner would be at an end. He therefore orders a fresh copy of the conventional report he has made so many times before, to be made. It only differs in the matter of the date, and the figures of the killed and wounded, and the place at which the disaster took place. He sheds the same number of crocodile tears as he did on the previous occasion, and takes his directorship of one or more railway companies on his retirement from Government service.

(Italics mine.)

Think it over, fellow workers; read it over yet again, and I have no doubt as to the result of your serious deliberations. During the pro-

cesses of production and distribution thousands of men and women are hurled into premature graves in the greed for profits, while thousands of the wealth producers every year are maimed or become physical and mental wrecks as the result of the awful conditions under which they are compelled to labour for a bare existence. The capitalist class are only concerned with the acquisition of dividends, and are indifferent to the prodigious waste of human life that is ever resulting from their avarice. The writer hardly feels disposed to give the reader a further dose of the horrors of the ghastly struggle on the Continent; but no more convincing evidence could be adduced to show the cold-blooded, murderous nature of the ruling class.

Not content with the systematic butchery of the workers in the "piping times of peace," the master class, whenever their material interests are seriously threatened by their rival capitalists of another nation, do not hesitate to force the whole of the manhood of the toiling masses who are capable of shouldering a rifle and marching into the armed forces to safeguard their interests and property. Many thousands will never return. As they die fighting King Capital's battles they will be hurled unceremoniously into any hole as so much refuse, forgotten by their historic enemy—the ruling class.

Perhaps the reader would like to peruse the following, culled from the "Daily Chronicle," 12.6.16.

"Vorwaerts" publishes an article headed "More than 700 Graveyards." The article refers to the battlefields of Galicia and to the efforts that are being made by the Austrian authorities to bring some order into the chaotic military burying places which lie scattered over almost the entire province. The writer reckons that between the town of Gorlice and the heights of Tarnovo no less than 410 graveyards have been cleared of their unsightly surroundings, and says that where possible natural beauties in the landscape have been utilised to lend dignity to the enormous cemeteries.

All along the Dunajec one proceeds from graveyard to graveyard thickly strewn over the entire countryside. Russians, Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, to the number of 40,000 are buried in the cared-for graveyards, a number which does not include, of course, those buried in masses in one grave. In West Galicia alone about 600 graveyards exist, and in other parts over 100. From the Dunajec eastwards the multitudinous graves of the Russians are seen stretching away into the eastern plains, an awful record of the death-grapple of last year.

The reader will, of course, recognise that the same conditions apply with equal force to France, Belgium, and other areas where hostilities are in operation. The writer can almost hear the terrible shrieks of the Anti-Socialist in pre-war days: "Socialism will break up the home." That agonised voice is strangely quiet while the homes of whole peoples are being laid in desolate ruin.

Need more be written? We Socialists urge the workers to study their position in society, to understand the great and bloody struggle which exists between the capitalist class and the working class, and when they realise and understand these things, to join with us in the work of spreading the knowledge of the principles of Socialism, and organising our fellow-workers, consciously and politically, for the overthrow of the hideous capitalist system and its blood-soddened parasite class.

Only when capitalism is overthrown will society be able to free itself from the shackles that bind it, and men and women be able to lead a free, full, and joyous life.

C. F. CARTER.

FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

At a War Savings meeting held at the Mansion House on Monday, June 19th, Lord Buckmaster insisted on the following facts:

Four days of war represents the cost of a year of education.

Three days of war is more than the whole of the Old Age Pensions for a year.

Five weeks of war costs more than the annual peace budget.—"Daily Mail," June 20.

THEREFORE, said in effect my Lord Buck, with paralysing logic, hurry up and save more money to throw down the bloody sink!

ANALYSIS OF WEALTH.

III. EXPLOITATION.

Just as there are two aspects of a commodity, utility and its exchange-value, so there are two ways of viewing its production, or in other words, the labour process.

At one and the same time the labourer produces a use-value and an exchange-value; the former by transforming raw material into useful articles, the latter by adding labour thereto.

We have already seen that capital in the process of expansion assumes two forms. Part of it becomes represented by raw material, tools or machinery, etc., the passive factors in wealth production, while the rest is invested in a special commodity, labour-power, the active, value-creating agent. Both these factors are obviously indispensable. Without raw material, etc., the labourer would have nothing in which to embody value; without the labourer raw material would become useless and valueless. For the only use raw material possesses is to serve as the element of the complete commodity, and its exchange-value only counts in so far as it becomes part of the total value of such complete commodity. Raw material, machinery, etc., lying idle, untouched by labour, rot and rust, and lose their exchange-value along with it.

Hence by transforming them into new commodities the labourer does more than add new value; he preserves old. In so far as raw material, etc., is so transformed, the labour previously expended upon it counts as part of the total labour necessary in the production of a commodity.

On the other hand, the passive factors in the labour process are incapable of transferring a greater value to the finished product than they already possess. The value of the raw material and machinery does not multiply itself; it remains constant and is called by Marx constant capital.

In realising the utility of the constant capital the labourer preserves it: that is one aspect of his activities. Let us now turn to his function as the producer of new value.

We have seen in a previous article that the amount of value the labourer adds to the commodity is determined by the length of time he inevitably occupies. Thus in our first example he worked six hours and added a value of three shillings; in the second instance, by working twelve hours a value of six shillings was produced.

We also saw that the object of the capitalist in purchasing labour-power was to take advantage of its capacity for producing more value than it possessed itself. That in the first case the capitalist realised no surplus-value because the labourer produced no more than the equivalent of his value, but that in the second case the surplus amounted to 3s., the product of the extra six hours labour.

In each of these cases the constant part of capital adds no more than itself to the total value. The amount of the constant capital in the second case is twice that of the first in order that the labourer might work twice as long, but this makes no difference to the result. The new value of 6s. is added by the labourer.

Just as any purchaser seeks to obtain the maximum use-value from his commodity, so the capitalist uses up labour-power to its limit; seeks to obtain the maximum of value, and therefore of surplus-value, from its exercise. It is the object of the present article to show how this is achieved. One thing must be borne in mind, viz., that the rate of surplus-value is not calculated on the total capital, but only on the part which is expended in the purchase of labour-power. Thus in the above instance, whereas the wages of the labourer were 3s. and the total value produced by him was 6s., the rate of surplus-value was 100 per cent.; that is to say the surplus was equal to the wages.

When the capitalist speaks of his "rate of profit" he would in this case reckon the 3s. surplus-value in proportion to the total capital advanced, viz., 27s., thus making the rate a little over 11 per cent.

Well as this method may serve him in his conventional dealings, it hides the true extent of the exploitation of labour-power.

We have seen that the capitalist obtains his surplus by prolonging the labourer's work beyond the time necessary to reproduce a value equivalent to his wages. It is, therefore, to the capitalist's interest to extend the working day as much as possible. The limit in this direction is simply the physical capacity of the labourer.

In order to exert his powers the labourer must have time to eat and sleep and recuperate, but beyond this the capitalist, having purchased these powers, has sole right over their exercise during the period for which he has purchased them. The only difference, in fact, between the wage-labourer and the chattel-slave is that the former sells himself piecemeal, i.e., in periods, while the latter is sold once for life.

It is, of course, possible that the capitalist may use up in one day a greater quantity of labour power than the worker can restore in three ("Capital," p. 217). In other words, he may use more labour-power in a day than he pays for. It is the labourer's business to claim the price of his commodity, and hence a struggle ensues as to the extent of the working-day.

In sections 5 and 6 of Chap. X. ("The Working Day") Marx shows how the manufacturers succeeded in extending the working day by degrees from the normal day of the Middle Ages to twelve hours in the seventeenth century. Then how, with the introduction of machinery in the eighteenth century, a violent encroachment took place on the remaining leisure of the workers. "All bounds of morals and nature, age and sex, day and night, were broken down" (p. 264).

Men, women, and children were worked to the point of exhaustion, until even the capitalist legislature, threatened by working-class revolt on one hand and the extreme physical and mental deterioration of that class (the source of surplus-value) on the other, were compelled to place legal restraint on private greed by limiting the hours of labour. For years they daltied and toyed with the matter, passing laws and abstaining from granting money for their administration and adopting all manner of devices to render their concessions purely nominal. Only when the most distinguished medical authorities had pointed out the danger to the ruling class of persisting in the industrial murder of children, did this class definitely prescribe that no children under 13 years of age should be worked more than 12 hours in one day. Even then it left all manner of loopholes for the evasion of the Act (1833), of which the manufacturers, in their blind profit-lust, were not slow to take advantage.

With eloquent thoroughness Marx shows how rival sections of the ruling class exploited the misery of the workers on the political field in order to gain their own ends; how time and again they betrayed them, and finally only conceded the meagre right of sufficient time in which to eat and sleep after a bitter struggle over every inch of ground for half-a-century.

These passages are indeed enlightening as to the character and methods of our masters, which have changed, if at all, only in the direction of greater duplicity.

The very nature of machinery enables the master class to increase the speed at which their slaves work, thus exhausting them more rapidly and reducing a legally limited working day to nominal value. Hence the workers are under the necessity of continually struggling to obtain still further reductions in the hours of labour. For by so much as the speed at which they work is increased, by so much is their life-time shortened.

Hitherto we have considered only one means of increasing the surplus-value, i.e., the lengthening of the working day. Capital, however, by no means rests content with pushing that to its limit. It is for ever seeking to reduce the value of labour-power and consequently the necessary time spent by the workers in reproducing that value, thus leaving a greater portion of a given working day in which they must produce surplus-value. This result is effected chiefly in two ways.

From the time the capitalist class first assumed control of industry there has gone on an increasing splitting-up of the forces of production among the producers. By concentrating numbers of workers in one workshop the earlier manufacturers were enabled to divide a hand-craft into separate parts, each part being taken

up by a different worker. Instead of being a skilled craftsman the worker became a mere special cog in a machine, and in this way the time spent in learning his calling was considerably reduced. Another effect of this alteration in the process of production was an increase in the product of a given number of men. The specialisation of individuals economised the time necessary to produce each individual commodity. This resulted in reducing the cost of the articles produced and consequently the maintenance of the labourer. Thus in two ways the exchange-value of labour-power fell; wages suffered a reduction and the increased product went to the capitalist.

The effects of this division of labour, which Marx defines as Manufacture proper, were insignificant compared with those resulting from the advent of machinery and modern industry. Here the worker loses the last vestige of skill and has his productive capacity enormously increased by being converted into an attendant of a monster which operates not one but many tools at once. The time spent in learning his task now falls to almost nil, while the cost of his necessities is still further reduced and his wages along with it. Surplus-value increases by leaps and bounds, and since machinery is constantly being improved, more universally and economically adopted, there has as yet been discovered no limit to this increase.

We see, then, that capital grows by securing domination over living labour-power and consuming it to the limit of its capacity. In this process the labourer preserves the constant part of capital, reproduces the equivalent of his wages, and adds a surplus which may be converted into new capital.

Despite various theories concerning the "abstinence" of the capitalist, however, the whole of this surplus-value does not become capital. Quite a considerable portion goes to provide the person of the capitalist with the necessities, comforts, and luxuries proper to his social status. Still, he does "save"!

What specially interests us here though is that his whole consumption fund, large though it may be, involves no reduction of the amount of his wealth. Even if he consumed the whole of the surplus produced by the labourers he would become no poorer. He would remain a capitalist.

There is, however, another aspect of this relationship. In the course of time the capitalist inevitably spends a sum equivalent to his original capital in his own personal consumption. The capital he has invested therefore becomes practically the creation of the labourer: a sum of accumulated surplus-value. If, for instance, the capitalist makes a profit of 20 per cent. per annum and consumes the lot, then in five years he will in effect have consumed the whole of his capital. The sum intact which he still retains is the fruit of his exploitation of labour-power, and it is with this sum that he continues to purchase labour-power.

The reason the labourer offers himself for hire is precisely because he does not possess the means of production. By continually yielding to the capitalist all his product over and above his necessary price, wages, he reproduces his own propertyless condition. Saving by the capitalist, nay, the mere existence of the capitalist, involves the absence of opportunity to save for the worker. The process of exploitation perpetuates itself.

The accumulation of surplus-value, the fruits of the process, simply enables the process to be carried on more extensively. In other words, the workers produce the means for their employment on an ever-increasing scale. Their reward for doing this will be dealt with in a further article.

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FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM.

Since August 11th, 1914, when this country entered the arena of European slaughter, the ruling class have used every means in their power to force working men into the Army on the pretext that the crushing of Prussian militarism would mean freedom, and therefore that the men (some of them, of course) would return to this country much better off than they were before the war. The reason put forward to support this was that a crushed Germany could no longer hold a place in the world's markets, and the trade lost to her would come to this country, resulting in more work and an improvement in the position of the working class.

We Socialists have shown this argument to be false from beginning to end. One has only to enquire into the economics of capitalism and the history of the capitalists themselves to see that they have no more regard for the welfare of the workers than the torpedo has for the ship it is about to destroy. To those workers who think that all will be well when Germany is defeated this article is addressed.

First we must go to the rock-bottom facts that the present system of society is based upon the private ownership of the means of living; that a comparatively few people own and control the means of production and distribution, with the result that the great mass of mankind are enslaved to the owners of these means, which they have to operate in their masters' interests.

It is not for the purpose of providing people with material for heating purposes that miners are allowed to go down into the mines, but simply to make profit for the mine-owners. Houses are not constructed for human habitation, but because the owner knows that there is profit in the business. These examples are typical of the whole capitalist system: profit is the be-all and end-all of it the world over, so much so, in fact, that if some improvement is recommended in the working conditions of the employees which is likely to interfere with the output the improvement is not adopted, though the lives of workers are endangered as a consequence. When the toilers ask for an increase of wages to meet the increase in the cost of living, they are in the main met with a blunt refusal, and should they strike and during the strike dare to touch one particle of their masters' property, even for the purpose of feeding themselves and their dependents, the military are brought out to shoot them at their masters' bidding.

Briefly, then, that is the position of the workers in modern Christo-bourgeois society: divorced from the means of production, working for a subsistence wage, their life is one perpetual fight against starvation from the cradle to the grave.

Politicians at election times talk glibly of the poverty of the workers, and hold up some pet nostrum as a cure for the disease. But the poverty-stricken find after they have elected the thieves to power and the so-called remedies are placed on the statute book, their position is not improved one iota.

Small wonder that the position of the workers has not improved, for by returning to Parliament men of the Liberal, Tory, or so-called Labour type they have voted for the perpetuation of the present system of society, and so long as capitalism lasts poverty, misery, and degradation must be their lot.

Now just as the capitalist politician is prepared to dangle before the eyes of the workers these various reforms in order that he shall be returned to Parliament, so they have been prepared since the war broke out to gull their victims into thinking that by fighting the Germans they would be fighting for freedom, and that none of the evil consequences that have attended other wars would attend this one.

Equally guilty of leading the workers up this blind alley are the so-called representatives of Labour. Most of them have assisted the masters to run the war by using the same dirty, underhand tactics that characterised them in times of peace. Ben Tillett, for instance, who once wasted his breath calling upon God to strike Lord Devonport dead, has been going up and down the country as recruiting sergeant, telling the workers some tales of his experiences

the front and holding up the bogey of "German tyranny" in order to induce men to go and fight the Germans in the interest of the very class of which Lord Devonport is a member. But there are times—although it is not often—when these gentry speak the truth, and having done all he could to get workingmen into the Army, Ben actually has settled himself down to thinking of the position of the workers after the war.

In an article in "Reynolds's" of June 18th Tillet tells us, among other things, that "the eternal struggle between capital and labour is bound to be more acute than ever it has been in the past." With this view we Socialists agree, but what then of the freedom the workers have been fighting for? Where is it? An answer is needed, but a logical answer will not be forthcoming from Ben Tillet and the crowd that, like him, live upon the backs of the toilers. They know their game too well, and a logical reply from them would open the eyes of the workers to such an extent that their occupation would be gone.

We have been told by scores of people that we should no longer see old soldiers selling bootlaces or turning organs. But since when has the attitude of the masters changed so favourably toward our class? Ever since the war broke out the ruling class have taken advantage of the crisis to rob and exploit the workers more than ever. At this very moment there is an agitation to burst up the food rings, smash the milk and other combines and trusts which have shown how much the capitalists are concerned with the welfare of their slaves. So make no mistake about it, fellow workers; the antagonism of interests between you and your masters will no more be wiped away by killing Germans than it was by voting Liberal or Tory after having a ride in a motor car.

And just as you will find the after-the-war conditions against you in this country, so also will the German, Austrian, Hungarian, French, Belgian, Italian, and Russian workers find conditions worse than ever after the slaughter is over. Then perhaps you will sit yourselves down and ask in your saner moments what have we been fighting for. We still depend on a boss for a job, still are subject to unemployment and the visit of the bailiff.

Surely, with the existing knowledge and power to produce wealth in abundance, there must be a way out of the difficulty. No human being need suffer poverty and starve in the midst of such prodigious resources as are at mankind's disposal to-day. Society can be so organised that the needs of all can be satisfied. The present system of society must be abolished by the working class, organised in a Socialist Party, capturing the means by which the masters hold supremacy to-day, namely, the political machinery, and using it to take control of the means and instruments of wealth production and distribution. In a state of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of these means and instruments there can be no conflicting interests to promote war or to breed poverty, because the common interest will bind each member to work for the common good.

Moreover, when you fight for this you fight for something more in conformity with the terms of fighting for freedom: it is, in fact, the only thing worth fighting for.

R. REYNOLDS.

THE CAPITALIST CREED.

Business is power, poetry, pleasure, life—all in one. Business feeds people, clothes them, houses them; provides their necessities, their amusements, their luxuries. Business has called into being the steamship, the express train, the motor-car; the telegraph, the telephone, the wireless. Business bridges rivers, tunnels through mountains, cuts canals through continents.

Business is the Atlas of the World. There's no higher profession than business on the big scale. All the other professions live on crumbs from the business man's table. Law—that's the safeguarding of business and property at home. The Army—that's fighting for it abroad. Medicine—that's making people fit for their job. Politics—that's altering laws to meet the changing requirements of business.—"The modern Chesterfield," Max Rittenberg.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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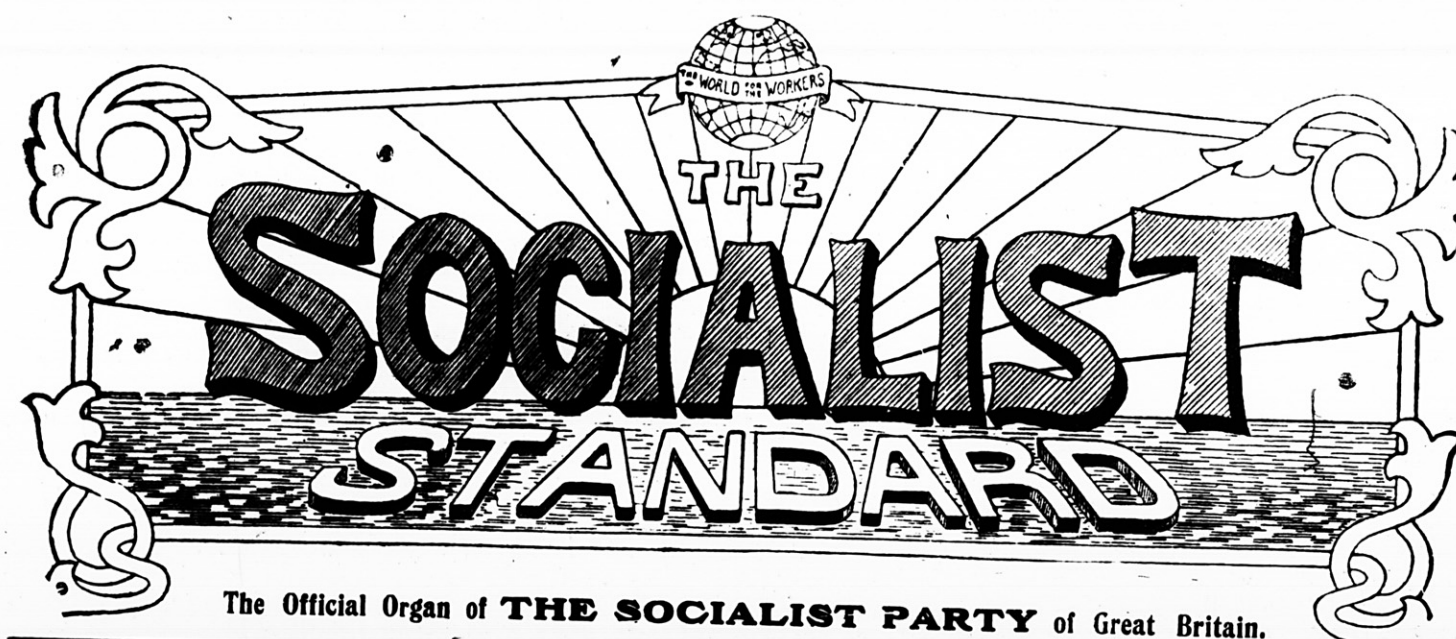
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LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1916.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE PLOT TO EDUCATE.

WHY THE CAPITALIST WANTS BRAINS.

The clerk and the school-teacher boast that they live by their brains. The mechanic smiles in derision and claims that the real thing worth knowing is, how to do something useful. The capitalist and the slacker regard all kinds of education as worthless that do not help them to dodge work. These are personal view-points and much twaddle has been spoken and written on each, which is responsible for much of the confusion that exists on the subject of education.

The capitalist himself does not want to be troubled with education, as he understands it; he pays someone else to acquire and use it in his interest. He does not object to some pains to obtain a smattering of general knowledge and that neurotic polish known and worshipped as culture. Some capitalists even pose as business men and indulge in vague generalities about "technical knowledge" and "the qualities that make for success." These are the merchant princes and the qualities they laud were precisely the ones that made them such. The capitalist who soils his hands, or worries his brains over technicalities, it is almost needless to add, is the man who cannot afford to buy brains and must, perforce, use his own.

Science has become an adjunct of industry. Educated brains are as necessary to the capitalist as skilled hands and muscular arms. Industry (read capitalists) needs both. Muscular energy and mechanical skill multiplies itself without much watering and manuring from the owners of capital. But the science of the business laboratory, and the knowledge necessary to organization on a large scale can only be acquired under special circumstances not attainable by the average worker.

There is no question of intelligence involved. The lad of average intellect given the opportunity to qualify could fill any post in the field of industry. There is no genius in evidence, nor is it required. High salaries are paid to the chemist and the organizer because their skill or ability is the product of many workers concentrated in one person. The opportunities to acquire this concentrated knowledge are rare, consequently those who possess it are scarce, their price on the labour market is high and their heads are swollen, not with the exercise of their brains, but with the idea that they are worth more than the mechanic or labourer—to the capitalist.

And the latter, well, he wants more. Not like the worker who "wants more work in order to get less of it." The capitalist wants more brain workers to get more—for less money. Hence the agitation in the Press. One writer says: "Germany did not sweep to such triumphs in the chemical world simply on the brains of one or two super-skilled men. She had armies of such men." The capitalist wants to be quit of the Ramseys, Wallaces and Lodges who flirt with spooks and try to analyse ether. When

they condescend to notice him from the heights of the Milky Way, the astral world, or a Park Lane drawing-room, their information was, to say the least, costly.

What the capitalist wants is to instal the brain-worker under his factory roof, with the rest of his workers, where he can see that his brain works—by the results. The first step to this end is to train the men. Supply of brain-workers must overtake demand. As was the case with school-teachers and clerks, competition will assert itself and the capitalist will get what he wants—cheap scientists and brain-workers.

The first move is a move in Parliament—the executive of the capitalists. Two committees are appointed, one for science, the other for languages. The terms of reference and constitution of the first are:

To enquire into the position occupied by natural science in the educational system of Great Britain, especially in secondary schools and universities; and to advise what measures are needed to promote its study, regard being had to the requirements of a liberal education, to the advancement of pure science, and to the interests of the trades, industries and professions which particularly depend upon applied science.

The terms of the second are:

To enquire into the position occupied by the study of modern languages in the educational system of Great Britain, especially in secondary schools and universities, and to advise what measures are required to promote their study, regard being had to the requirements of a liberal education, including an appreciation of the history, literature and civilization of other countries and to the interests of commerce and public service.

The unthinking one who reads the above will see nothing in it but the intention of Parliament to give facilities to the children of the poor to qualify for better jobs; it entirely escapes his notice that the wholesale manufacture of applicants quickly robs the better job of its advantages. Capitalism by these very methods tends to reduce all workers to one dead level. Mechanical inventions eliminate skilled workers; lightning calculators scrap the clerk, and the man of muscle is superseded by magnetic cranes, etc.

Division of labour reduces the knowledge and skill required by each person to a minimum. Every man and woman specialises in one direction only; and in that direction, because of the competition, must devote all his or her energies. To what end? "The interests of trade, industry, and commerce." All the educational roads lead to the same goal—the commercial interests of the capitalist class. If the worker wants to live he must get into one of the ruts provided, where his senses will be sharpened and his very thoughts moulded and curbed in the interest of commerce. Whether he works with his brain or his hands, or with a combination of both—as, indeed, all forms of

labour really are—he is subservient to commerce. Production and distribution, instead of being the means to satisfy his wants, enslaves him, plants him in a niche and keeps him busy with the routine of a department or the feeding of a machine.

Life for the average worker has no meaning outside the interests of commerce. The wonders of the universe, the beauties of nature, real knowledge and culture, are outside his ken: he is a mere cog in the machinery of wealth production—and remains poor. The accumulated knowledge of society built up by successive generations of workers has made possible a full and glorious life for all. Yet the life that comes to each of us but once is forced into a rut of toil that an idle class may flourish and revel in excessive luxury.

We Socialists are often accused of using strong language, but it is difficult to frame language that will convey an adequate idea of the hideous poverty of the great mass of the workers, according even to capitalist evidence. The cupidity and greed of the capitalist and the ignominy of the wage-slave have become ingrained in their respective natures. We Socialists, while not relinquishing the task of presenting to the workers a true perspective of their position, gladly welcome any capitalist writer of ability who contributes anything that will support our position, or help remove some of the confusion prevalent on the subject of education.

The instructions given to the committee that is to investigate education reform are sufficient evidence to prove the conspiracy of the capitalist class. They plot to make all workers subservient to the interests of commerce, i.e., their interests, to prune knowledge—our common inheritance—till it, too, only serves their interests. Here, Mr. Donald Ross comes to our aid. He anticipated the Shylock character of education reform and exposed the whole plot.

According to Mr. Ross there are three aspects of education. "First," he says,

do we want to give our people greater culture? Do we want to educate them in those things that make for greater personal charm and greater personal achievement purely in a social sense? I mean without any regard to utility. Naturally, we do. Culture is always worth while.

Secondly he deals with education as it effects efficiency—the view-point of the capitalist. He says:

In manufacture to-day the best brains directing the most capable hands will win to distinction. If we can educate all our workers in the technical sciences we shall undoubtedly produce better than our rivals and sweep the commercial field.

But Mr. Ross does not finish there. He goes on to describe how the workers of Germany linked themselves up in association and enthusiastically set themselves to further the ends of industry by discussion and experiment.

Then he says:

But you will notice that this did not make any difference to them financially. They improved the machinery, increased production, took an absorbing interest in their work, and made vast profits for the manufacturer who employed them. That is one flaw in the argument for greater technical efficiency of craftsmen. Under the present system the craftsman turns round and says in effect, why should I spend time and trouble on becoming a more efficient machine to produce greater wealth for another man? That is his problem. Admittedly a worker here and there may "get on" because of his knowledge, but that is simply because the others have not the same knowledge.

Next Mr. Ross states the problem, in language almost identical with our own:

We all know that the production of wealth in manufacturing countries is enormous. It could be enormously increased. The trouble is that it is not properly distributed. The men who make it, the men in the factory, the forge and the field, get least of it. Their first problem, then, is not how to make more, but to get more of what they already make.

Lastly, in bold language Mr. Ross outlines the solution of the problem.

They need education in economics. They need to learn what are the forces at work in the modern world which help a small number of men to take the largest share of wealth. They require an education that will enable them to unravel the tangled skein of modern economics; to review industry as a whole; to find out why there are classes and masses, and then, understanding, to apply their knowledge to the refashioning of society, so that the worker shall get a greater share of the wealth he produces. It is often objected that this would be "class" education. It would; and it is needed, and organised labour should see that the workers get it. So the three steps in labour education should be: First, class education, which will give labour ultimate control of industry; second, technical education which will allow it to produce more wealth; third, cultural education which will allow them to enjoy it.

In places, Mr. Ross lays himself open to misconception, but there is little doubt that he points to Socialism as the only remedy. In other places he has been responsible for some confusion, but the above quotations from an article appearing in "Reynolds's Newspaper," Aug. 13th, shows that he is capable of independent thought; and what is more gratifying to the Socialist, when he exercises it honestly, he finds himself admitting and asserting the principles for which we have stood so long.

True he speaks of giving "labour ultimate control of industry," and the worker getting "a greater share" of the wealth he produces, which is no doubt due to his own limited knowledge of economics. But once a man recognises the need for education of the workers on class lines, he has surmounted the worst obstacle. The rest is easy. For what purpose education unless it is to bind the working class in an organization to take and use the means of wealth production and distribution in their own interests? The education needed by the working class is Socialist education, that includes economics. An education that explains to them how they are robbed, why they must organize on the basis of their class, capture the political machinery of the capitalist State and establish a system wherein wealth will be produced for use, and not for profit. Then technical education will mean greater production of wealth with less expenditure of labour power, and efficiency will no longer enrich a small class of idlers. Every invention that aids in the production of wealth, instead of being a curse, because it increases unemployment, will be welcomed because it gives more leisure to enjoy the good things of life. The instruments of production, instead of enchainning those who operate them, physically and mentally, will serve them as the means to satisfy their wants.

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THE TRUE MEANING OF WELFARE SUPERVISION.

G. O.

Signs are not wanting that at the cessation of hostilities on the Continent and the other fronts a return of the old industrial struggles will once again be the order of the day. Even now politicians and the Press vie with each other in an endeavour to gloss over the struggle of the classes, and here and there ladle out to both employers and employees the need for a "give-and-take" policy.

The old wheezes of "co-partnership" and "profit-sharing," which have been tried in certain businesses, have not worked out as satisfactorily as was anticipated, owing to the flood of light shed thereon by Socialist thought and criticism. And so to-day we find an agitation springing up on every hand for "Welfare Supervisors." It is somewhat significant how fresh devices are introduced one after another in order to give a new lease of life to capitalist production and to further rivet the chains of wage-slavery around the workers.

With the institution of the ministry of munitions further official notice was given to this question of "Welfare Supervisors," and at the same period "The Times" newspaper pointed out how, in the German workshops, this ministering to the inner man and attendance to the congenial conditions of workshop life greatly facilitated the method of production. The Health of Munition Workers Committee which was appointed issued a report in which they stated: "The provision of facilities for obtaining a hot meal at the factory are often inadequate, especially for night workers. Frequently the arrangements made for heating carried food are also wholly insufficient. Yet the munition worker, like the soldier, requires good rations to enable him to do good work." The last clause of the report goes on to say: "The rapid growth of commercial undertakings, and in particular of munition works, makes it difficult or impracticable for the management to deal, unless by special arrangement, with the numerous problems of labour efficiency, and the personal welfare of the employee. Yet without some such special arrangement there cannot fail to be diminished output, discontent, and unsmooth working." Thus we see that "Welfare Supervisors" are necessary in order to ensure that the workers shall at certain intervals, take in just sufficient fuel and oil to keep the machine running smoothly.

In this connection also "The Stratford Express" for August 12th and 19th published two articles entitled "The Human Element in Factories," by B. Seebolm Rowntree. To reverse the order of things, I venture to quote the concluding paragraph first. It says: "After more than 20 years experience of welfare supervision in my own factory, I am thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of appointing welfare supervisors where large numbers of girls are employed. They not only promote the well-being, the health and efficiency of the girls, but they save the management an enormous amount of trouble. And it must be remembered that an increase of efficiency is important, not only to employers, but also to the workers, for there cannot be progressive improvement in wages unless there is progressive improvement in methods of production." Here we have the frank confession of a member of the employing class who freely admits that it pays to look after and improve the general conditions of factory life. The phrase "it must be remembered that an increase of efficiency is important, not only to employers, but also to the workers, for there cannot be progressive improvement in wages unless there is progressive improvement in methods of production," merely demonstrates the fact that the more efficient the workers become, combined with the elimination of wasted energy and better conditions of labour, the greater is the surplus-value produced for the employer with a lesser number of wage-slaves required to produce a given quantity of commodities. The sop offered as an inducement to greater effort on the part of the workers—that they will get a "progressive improvement in wages"—further emphasises the measure of their exploitation.

Our author in his opening remarks tells his readers that "Welfare supervision is simply the creation in a factory of those conditions which enable each individual worker to be and to do his best." He then goes on to say that so long as factories were small there was no need of any special organisation to secure this end, for with the close relationship of master and employee every worker could be put to the work best fitted for him; but as factories grew larger and larger this personal relation was crowded out. "The employer no longer knew his workers even by name. They came to be impersonal 'factory hands' to him, who were treated in the mass, without individual consideration." To most of our readers this will be commonplace.

Moreover, Mr. Rowntree says "some employers may think that welfare supervision is merely a fad. This is quite a mistaken view. It is not only good . . . but it is thoroughly sound business from the standpoint of the employer;" and "it is stupid to treat workers in the mass." Then he goes on to ask: "What should we think of an employer who treated his machinery in the mass? As a matter of fact he watches his mechanical equipment with extraordinary care. It is continually tested to find out if there is any overstrain. A man goes round with an oil can all day long to see that there is no unnecessary friction anywhere." After pointing out the care and attention which is paid to the machinery the writer suggests that a similar method should be applied to the human beings who are infinitely more complex and delicate, and adds: "If only employers would treat their employees with as much consideration as they do their machines, they would have less difficulty in getting satisfactory output." With regard to the hours of labour for girls and women a suggestion of a 48 hour week is put forward, and were informed that the employer "is wise who adopts this course." A little later one observes the following remark: "I question whether it ever pays to keep on working girls for more than 54 hours a week." With regard to the question of workers partaking of lunch it is put forward with all seriousness that "a short break of, say, ten minutes in the middle of the morning is a distinct advantage." On the subject of canteens the writer is equally emphatic, and he goes on to say that the Americans recognise much more fully than we do the advantages of good canteen arrangements in the works, adding that unless girls (and the same is equally true regarding men) in a factory can get a comfortable midday meal and a restful dinner hour, they cannot be expected to do a good afternoon's work. He also mentions that some employers look upon comfortable mess rooms and canteens as luxuries and an expense which brings in no return. "Nothing is further from the truth," is his rejoinder to these people. Even such things as lighting, heating, and ventilation are touched upon, with the further remark that we (the bosses) are quite alive to the importance of these things in our own offices.

The method of engaging the newcomer to the factory is next dealt with at great length, it being suggested that the applicant should be engaged by the "welfare supervisor" instead of by the foreman. The supervisor would then have a talk with the applicant and ascertain her qualifications, and having decided to recommend her for employment would "try to interest her in it, making her feel both that the firm intends to do the 'square thing' by her, and that she must do the 'square thing' by the firm." This reminds one of the old idea depicted on Trade Union banners showing the two hands clasped representing Capital and Labour; and strange to say, these relics of the earlier days of trade union activity are still to be seen dragged through the streets on occasions when there is no possibility whatever of obscuring the class struggle! The identity of interests, forsooth! The robbed and the robbers doing "the square thing"! What balderdash!

One could go on and quote more extensively from these articles, but I think sufficient has been culled to show that the whole purpose underlying them is simply an object lesson to the employing class on how, under the pretence of an interest in the welfare of their slaves, they can better exploit them. Fellow-workers, let it be an object lesson to you also.

T.

ANALYSIS OF WEALTH.

IV. ACCUMULATION.

Capital is an accumulation of surplus-value. Whatever the original capital with which capitalist production started may have been it has long since disappeared, consumed by the capitalist class.

Likewise with the individual upstart. Even if we grant that by "his own exertions" he becomes possessed of a sum of money, this sum does not become capital until he uses it to exploit labour-power. As this process continues his capital comes to consist of accumulated surplus-value, while his original sum disappears in consumption.

Other things remaining the same the accumulation of capital implies an increase in the demand for labour-power; for capital, in order to remain itself, must grow by the exploitation of ever more labour-power. This in itself gives rise to an increase in the rate of wages, since in the course of time the demand must tend to outstrip the supply as provided by normal increase in the labouring population.

Capital, however, is by no means satisfied with this state of affairs. It sees in the natural limits of population a limit to the rapidity of its own growth. Hence as we have shown in a former article, it exhibits a historical tendency to force on the productivity of social labour by specialisation of individual functions and by the introduction of machinery. Thus it wrings from a given quantity of labour-power a larger proportion of surplus value. Therefore, along with the accumulation of capital goes an alteration in what Marx calls its technical composition. Its constant portion, i.e., that invested in the passive factors of the labour process, increases at the expense of the variable element which purchases labour-power.

This enables production to be carried on on an ever increasing scale without the demand for labour-power increasing sufficiently to cause a rise in its price. On the contrary it reduces the demand for labour-power to such a point as to cause a permanent over-supply of workers; in other words, it creates an industrial reserve army—the unemployed.

The larger the scale on which an individual capitalist does business the more he is enabled to economise and reduce the number of his employees in proportion to work done. The cheaper, therefore, can he sell his commodities (since they embody less labour) and the keener becomes his competition against his rivals. They in turn are forced to economise and to extend the scale of their operations as rapidly as possible. In the long run the large capitals become larger while small ones get absorbed or wiped out; for the market soon refuses to bear the increased weight of goods supplied by this acceleration of production. This centralisation of capital causes further economy and increases the industrial reserve army.

Thus in the process of accumulation we observe on the one hand a tendency to increase the productivity of labour and on the other hand a contraction of the market for its products, seeing that the growth of the unemployed lessens the demand for commodities, both on their part and on the part of those actually employed whose places they are ever ready to take.

These two forces act and react on each other to an increasing extent. The competition of the unemployed forces the actual workers to submit to the lowest wages and the maximum amount of work. This increases the accumulation of capital, which in turn intensifies competition among the capitalists for the market, causing further economies and more unemployed.

At one end of the social scale, then, we have the concentration of capital in fewer hands and consequent luxury and idleness; at the other end, absence of all wealth other than that necessary to secure the workers' continued existence in a state of overwork, coupled with a dead-weight of destitute wretches denied even that questionable privilege. This state of affairs arises inevitably from the very nature of capitalist production, and its special features are

aggravated with every step in capitalist progress. Even the statistics compiled by capitalist authorities, governmental and otherwise, bear out this conclusion.

So far we have examined only the growth of capital. It remains for us to consider its origin and destiny. Assuming on the one hand a class with the means of production and on the other a class without these means it is easily seen that the former can exploit the latter to an ever-increasing degree.

The question arises, however, as to how this relationship was established. Orthodox economists and other apologists for things as they are assure us that it is solely due to the virtues of the possessors and the vices of the proletariat. If by virtue we mean work, however, we have already seen that the accumulation of capital by no means bears out this fairy tale. At present and for centuries the workers with all their toil have been unable to accumulate. If the capitalists saved money by work it was an extraordinarily long time ago. We are forced, then, to turn to history for a solution of the problem.

The system of society immediately preceding the present social system in the course of evolution we know as Feudalism. It consisted of a complex hierarchy of lords and vassals bound to each other by the duties of military support and obedience and the right of protection. As a basis for this system was serfdom. The land was parcelled out among the lords and their subordinates, and while the latter cultivated the land of their lords they had land of their own for their personal use. In the towns chartered free-men carried on handicrafts and commerce. Thus reciprocal obligations existed and were established by feudal law and custom. No man lacked the means of subsistence, or an occupation. The lords exploited their subordinates, but the latter possessed something the modern wage slave lacks—security!

The decay of feudalism forms the starting-point of capitalist development. In England it was spread over the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. By degrees the peasants and handicraftsmen freed themselves from servile duties and became independent producers, while in conjunction with the growth of trade and the production of commodities arose and flourished the merchant class, who sandwiched themselves parasitically between the producers on either side of the exchange and incidentally fleeced both whenever occasion offered.

The feudal nobility, exhausted, in numbers and resources, by friction among themselves, disbanded their retainers, who thenceforth became propertyless men seeking employment for a living. Large estates passed into the hands of wealthy farmers and burghers, who did not hesitate to evict the tenants in order to convert one-time arable land into sheep pastures. The new nobility also confiscated common land for similar purposes spurred on by the increase in the price of wool. The spoliation of the Church during the Reformation aggravated this condition, and by the end of the 16th century a considerable labour-market had come into being, consisting of expropriated agriculturists, disbanded retainers, and forlorn monks.

The process went on in stages till the 19th century, when the last vestige of the old yeomanry disappeared. At first legislation from Henry VII. onward attempted to stem the tide of usurpation, but in the 18th century the law itself had become the instrument whereby the robbery of the people was effected. Private force was supplemented by the force of the State, which has remained to this day the agent of the plutocrats. From the first it penalised the disinherited for their misfortune: flogging and branding them was its most merciful means of dealing with them.

This, as Marx says, established the "discipline necessary to the wage-system," and encouraged the new-born proletariat to submit to the low wages and long hours at first legally enforced by the State.

As the workers became habituated and resigned to their fate the severity of the penal legislation relaxed, only to be applied with all its original vigour again when the workers found in combination a means of parrying the onslaught of the masters.

If to-day Trade Unions and strikes are legal it is only because the capitalists have been able

to circumvent the determination of the workers by counter organisation, increased economy, and the corruption of the unions themselves.

The labour-market once established, the genesis of the capitalist class followed as a matter of course. In agriculture the farmer, one-time agent for the landowner, was transformed into an independent exploiter. Whereas the independent peasant had previously produced many of his own requirements, such as clothes, in addition to purely agricultural products, now, as a wage-worker for the capitalist farmer, he had to purchase these elsewhere. Hence arose a domestic market for capitalist industry in the towns. Merchants and money lenders were not slow to take advantage of this. Employing numbers of disinherited peasants, etc., they entered into competition with the independent handicraftsman of the guilds, and owing to the larger scale of their operations and the division of labour in the workshops which they introduced, they were ultimately able to outstrip the guildsmen in the race. In the face of this competition the guilds went to pieces and added more exploitable material to the labour market.

At the same time there arose the struggle between the capitalist nations of Europe, for world domination. Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England followed one another in rapid succession in exploration and conquest in Africa, America, and Asia, plundering the natives of their wealth and converting them into slaves for export to plantation colonies. The plunder thus obtained by the agents of the "merchant adventurers" helped to form new capital in England and on the Continent for the exploitation of white slaves.

These are the methods, drawn very mildly, by which the modern "respectable" class rose to power. The depths of their historic depravity are in direct proportion to the "loftiness" of their professed ideals. Champions of Justice, Freedom, and Charity, their career is indelibly stained with robbery, slavery, and murder. Need it be added that it shows no signs of improving from the standpoint of the workers?

To sum up, modern wealth or capital is a product of social labour, past and present, which has been and continues to be monopolised by a small class of individuals, which grows relatively smaller as the mass of disinherited producers increases. In its origin it destroyed the unity which existed between the producers and their products, including the means of production, thus reducing them to social outcasts, having no access to the means of life as provided by nature and society. This relationship it perpetuates and uses as a means of self-expansion at their expense.

Technically, however, it indicates economic progress. In the place of the isolated workers of the middle ages able to produce but a meagre variety of articles of wealth, we have to-day an international combination of producers using a highly complex organisation of machinery, means of transport and distribution capable of providing comfort and leisure for all.

What prevents this desirable consummation of industrial development? The reader who has followed this analysis will readily see that it is the capitalist character of this social wealth, i.e., its private ownership, which alone stands in the way. The private property of the many workers has disappeared before the private ownership of a few idlers. To return to the former state is neither possible nor desirable. It is not our business to destroy the fruits of centuries of toiling agony, but rather to enter into possession of them; and as the means of production become ever more concentrated and incapable of control save in the mass, the only alternative to private ownership by the few is common ownership.

This will reunite the producers with their means of production and simultaneously preserve technical progress, for it is this progress which forces on the revolution. It unites them in the productive process and reduces them all to the level of wage-slaves for the maintenance of capital. Hence it breeds a community of interest and a common consciousness. Let us speed on the day when they will unite in one organisation with a common purpose. Let us rally them round the Socialist standard, and establish Socialism, the co-operative commonwealth!

E. B.

here, then, we observe the pathetic wail of small capitalist who is threatened with death by destruction--not as a result of the establishment of Socialism, which has been asserted

by some to be the end of all things, but by the development of capitalism itself.

A question regarding the cost of pauper indoor maintenance was recently asked in the House of Commons. The questioner desired to know "the average cost per head of pauper indoor maintenance on 31st March, 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916 respectively?" The reply was as follows: "The estimated average cost per indoor pauper in England and Wales for the year ended March, 1913, was £32 12s. 10½d., and for the year ended March, 1914, £34 9s. 4½d. Complete returns for the later years are not yet available." (Official Report, Cols. 2488-9, Aug. 22nd, 1916.) An old age "pension" of 5s. per week, or £13 per year, is a grand thing for the capitalist class. The economy campaign commenced before the war. See what you save the master class by holding out your hand for a dollar a week to spend the evening of your days in your own chimney corner.

A case of exceptional hardship was given some prominence in a recent issue of a Sunday paper. The facts, according to the report, briefly stated are:

The breadwinner in a military gaol because he remained with his wife when she was in the valley of the shadow.

Separation allowance stopped.

Windows and door of tenement removed by landlord's agent.

Every pawnable possession gone for food.

Parish rations.

The item of news goes on to say that "some may be uncharitable enough to say that her husband should not have overstayed his leave, and then all this trouble would not have befallen his innocent wife and children. But there is no true man who, in similar circumstances, would not be where Private Price . . . is to-day. About nine weeks ago Mrs. Price risked her life to bring another little Briton into the world." It continues by stating that the husband obtained leave to be near his wife, whose recovery was not rapid, and that he was confronted with the following dilemma:

(1) Return to duty and leave his wife with children to care for, and without relative or friend to aid her.

(2) Stay with her and chance the consequences.

"He chose the latter alternative and when he returned to barracks was awarded 56 days' detention." We are further informed from this Press report that a representative of the "Illustrated Sunday Herald" visited the woman and her children "at their cheerless home," and "he found a spectacle which for sheer desolation and grief could not be found elsewhere in London." A reference is made to the family subsisting on the following parochial fare:

- 1 tin of treacle.
- 1 tin of condensed milk.
- 2 loaves of bread.
- 1 lb. of rice.

issued every two or three days."—"Illustrated Sunday Herald," Aug. 6th, 1916.

This from a capitalist paper which is in every sense of the word patriotic is a striking commentary on the patriotism of our masters.

The answer to a question with regard to the employment of soldiers at the Llanelly Steel Works, their rate of pay, etc., came somewhat as a shock to some of the labour men in the House when it transpired that these men were doing civilian work for soldiers' pay, the War Office appropriating the difference. So concerned were the Labour Party that they met to discuss Dr. Addison's reply, and

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., said yesterday that Dr. Addison's own confession rendered it impossible for labour to ignore such a serious infraction of the arrangements which had been previously made, and he predicted that if Parliamentary action did not avail Labour would consider other ways of stopping it. "Globe," August 9th, 1916.

Is this Industrial Conscription? At last the Labour fakirs wake up, and they bark. To interfere with the freedom of the men in the matter of the disposal of their labour-power is poaching on the fakirs' preserves, and if anything like that's a doing, why, they have got to be paid THEIR price.

THE SCOT.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

A TRIBUTE.

The early days of August are eventful ones for the international proletariat. This terrible war was ushered in on the fateful 4th and it was on the 5th of August, 1895, that Marx's great co-worker passed away. Unfortunately no adequate biography of Engels has been written and the short sketch of his life by Karl Kautsky has long been out of print. A brief resumé of his life story is therefore timely, especially when the so-called "leaders of Socialism" in England are busy reviling the memory of every Socialist of German birth.

Marx and Engels paid the debt they owed to society with compound interest, and it is for us who still hold fast to the principles they laid down to make their writings known.

Frederick Engels was born in Barmen on the Rhine on Nov. 28th, 1820. His home was in the most developed part of German capitalism with its accompanying militant burgher and rising working class. For twenty years the district had been French territory and when it passed into German hands in 1815 it inherited the traditions of the French Revolution. German philosophy was at its zenith and Heinrich Heine, Fierbach and Hegel were active in the society in which Engels was born. Educated at the local school and afterwards at the "Gymnasium" at Elberfeld, he grew to hate the official life and politics of the German bourgeois and left his studies to take up work in a merchant house at Bremen and later at Berlin. His father was part owner of a textile firm in Manchester known as "Ermen & Engels," and from 1842 to 1844 he was employed in the business. Those days of break-neck speed capitalism, with its fearful exploitation and murder of women and children in the mills, made a lasting impression on Engels, and he threw himself into the incipient working-class movement of that time. Those who are interested can consult in the British Museum the files of the Bronterre O'Brien's (Chartist) "Northern Star" and in Robert Owen's "New Moral World" for many contributions from his busy pen.

In 1844 he returned to Germany and thence to Paris, where he revived his friendship with Karl Marx which had begun two years before. Their common views led to their joint authorship of "The Holy Family" or a Review of the Critical Critique against Bruno Bauer and his followers. Published in Frankfurt in 1845, this work dealt a mortal blow at the idealist philosophy of the Hegelian school and showed that changes in the "world of ideas" cannot be explained by themselves but only by the previous changes in the material world.

Soon afterwards he published the result of his investigations into proletarian life, entitled "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," a work which is widely quoted to-day and shows that even in 1844 Engels studied material conditions in order to found a social science. Here he traced the effects of the industrial changes on the social life of the workers and showed that the reformism of Chartism and the idealism of Owenism could not be the basis of a Socialist movement. He wrote for the "German French Year Book" in 1841, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," which was the first attempt to found Socialism upon Political Economy.

Upon his return to Barmen to complete the "Condition of the Working Class" he grew disgusted with the piety of the town and left his orthodox and conservative family to go to Brussels. He gave up mercantile life and joined Marx here after the latter had been expelled from France through the "kind" offices of the Prussian Government. They cut themselves off from the Bourgeois philosophers of Germany and the young Hegelians, and promoted an international workers' movement. The Communist League. Engels went to Paris and by means of educational work laid the basis for a democratic organisation to replace the secret societies that had formerly existed. Marx and Engels became so well known and relied upon that after two Congresses of the League they were instructed to prepare a manifesto of its aims. Back in Germany at Cologne they took control of the daily "Neue Rheinische Zeitung."

Its work was difficult as it stood alone in its clear conception of the necessities of the time.

The '48 revolution showed that the politically and economically unripe Germany was full of illusions as to the meaning of the struggle and mistook the struggle of the small property-owners against the government for a social revolution.

The labourers were betrayed by the small bourgeoisie after they had helped the latter and the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" was suppressed. Engels was persecuted and fled to Switzerland. Marx went to Paris, where a new revolt was seething, and after the bloody June days in Paris was ordered to leave. He went to London and was followed by Engels, who escaped the French authorities by travelling by ship from Genoa.

In 1850 in Hamburg they re-established the "Zeitung," and Engels wrote for it his series of articles on "The Ten Hours Bill" and also his criticism of the German bourgeois revolt in "The German Imperial Plan of Campaign."

Here he also published the articles forming his book on "The German Peasants' War," and through dispelling the fond illusions of the small property owners the circulation of the paper fell. Many of the Communist leaders were thrown into prison and Marx's defence may be found in his "Communist Trial." All literary expression was afterwards denied to them in Germany, being banned by Democrats and Government alike. Publishers and papers closed their doors to them. Marx returned to the Reading Room of the British Museum and planned his magnum opus—"Capital." Engels joined his father's woollen business and afterwards became a partner, but finally severed his connection with it in 1869.

Whilst Marx is chiefly known by the great works that bear his name, Engels expressed himself chiefly in the smaller books he wrote from time to time and in the large number of articles he published in many journals, now obscure. His popular style of exposition made his application of the Socialist philosophy to specific questions and problems a fruitful field of propaganda. An example of this may be found in his lucid introduction to Marx's "Wage Labour and Capital." He wrote much on militarism, science and philosophy between the busy hours of his business life. "The Po and the Rhine," published during the Italian War of '59, where he dissected the methods of the Prussian Liberals, and after the war he wrote "Savoy, Nice, and the Rhine." During the Prussian struggle of 1845 he penned "The Prussian Military Question and the German Labour Party" a further message to the proletarians of Germany. His profound military knowledge served him well when he wrote the military articles for the "Pall Mall Gazette" (London) during the Franco-German War, and also for the "Manchester Guardian." "The Prussian 'Schnaps' in the German Reichstag" is still worthy of application to-day though written in '76.

His masterpiece, "Anti Dühring" was written in 1877 and represents for us the classic of Socialist philosophy. The three chapters from it known as "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" is still (next to his Manifesto) the most widely read of Socialist literature and deservedly so. It is a thorough exposition of the scientific character of Socialism, and an example of that Materialist Conception of History which he jointly discovered with Marx. "The Housing Question" was written as a reply to the Proudhonists and "Social Conditions in Russia" against the wild theories of the Bukinists. Here he applied social science to Russian conditions and examined the mir in the light of modern Socialism.

The clear grasp of the class struggle made itself manifest in the formation of the International—ruined though it was by the reformers and Nationalists who disrupted it whilst the agents of capitalism attacked it without. The second so-called International has again been killed in 1914 by the jingoes who have given the lie to every principle International solidarity stands for.

On the General Council of the International Engels had to fight the efforts of English Labour Leaders on the one hand and Continental Physical Force theorists on the other.

Amidst all his writings Engels had to assist the many comrades from all parts of Europe who flocked to him and Marx for advice and to correspond with the many friends of the movement everywhere. The editing of Marx's works also occupied him largely.

In 1883 he brought out the 3rd edition of vol. I of "Capital," enlarged and revised according to the wishes of Marx and provided with notes. In 1884 he published the 2nd volume dealing with Circulation, after much energy spent in finishing the preparation of the material left by Marx.

Lewis Henry Morgan's classic work on Ancient Society appeared in 1877 and Marx and Engels were practically alone in their recognition of its value. As the Professor of Finance at Columbia University (New York), Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, says, "Engels advanced Morgan's discovery one step further by his 'Origin of the Family.'"

Seligman further admits that the great founders of modern Socialism were the first to get the real significance of Morgan's work recognised. Engels showed that gentle society was transformed owing to the first fundamental division of labour—the separation of the pastoral tribes from the rest of society with the consequent intertribal exchange and rise of private property—the coming of slavery and the decline of the matriarchate.

The death of Marx in 1883 left Engels with two men's work. He revised the English translation of the 1st vol. of "Capital" made by Dr. Aveling and Justice Moore, and worked steadily at the great task of preparing the material Marx left for the 3rd volume of "Capital." The tremendous difficulties Engels had in this may be read in his preface to that volume. His growing eye weakness made work by gas impossible and yet he lived to accomplish his task. It stands to day as much Engels' work as Marx's, and is Engels' undying tribute to his comrade of 40 years. "Capital" lives when thousands of critics are forgotten, and it is read more to-day than ever. Even here in America, where superficial reading is the order of the day, "Capital" is being studied as never before. In 1888 he wrote his "Fuerbach."

The last debt Engels repaid to Marx was to edit and put in book form the articles Marx wrote for the "Rheinische Zeitung" in 1850 under the title "Class Struggle in France, 1848-1849." In the preface Engels showed how the change in economic development had made former methods of warfare useless. It is a complete answer to the "direct action" element and its truth may be seen from the terrible defeat of the Irish insurgents under Connolly, and the massacre of the striking workers here in America recently at Pittsburgh. The quick-firing gun, says Engels, has destroyed the hope of the barricade but the suffrage has given the proletariat a more powerful weapon, against which the ruling class are helpless.

Whilst working on Marx's "Literary First Fruits" Engels was taken ill and he returned from Eastbourne to London, and after two months' suffering with cancer of the throat he passed away in the presence of his old friend, Edward Bernstein. By request he was cremated and the ashes scattered to the winds from Beachy Head.

Thus died a man who laboured restlessly all his life for the emancipation of the working class. He bequeathed his money to Marx's children and thus brightened their closing years.

The three volumes of correspondence between Marx and Engels published by Franz Mehring, as the "Manchester Guardian" well says, are a beautiful and rare example of lasting friendship of two gifted men whose work was indissolubly interwoven. What they owed to each other and what we owe to both may be glimpsed from their almost daily correspondence.

The test of Engels' foresight may be seen to-day, 21 years after his death, in the action of the so-called leaders of Socialism in England and Germany. Engels never trusted H. M. Hyndman, and the latter retorted by calling him the "Grand Lama of Regents Park Road."

But if Engels could see Hyndman supporting the jingoes and bitter enemies of our class as he is now doing, what a justification he would

* "The Economic Interpretation of History."

feel! For the Palmero Weekly he wrote, whilst he was in the grip of his illness, an article, "The Awakening," which closed with words so appropriate in spirit for our time:

"Above all let the oppressed close up their ranks and reach out to each other across the boundary lines of every nation. Let the International Proletariat develop and organise until the beginning of the new century shall lead it on to victory."

A. KONN.

FLIES IN OINTMENT.

THE NEW PROTECTIONISM, by J. A. Hobson, London: The Cobden Club, Westminster, and T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace. 6d. net.

That monumental piece of bluff and fatuity the Paris Economic Conference has been taken seriously, not by the German capitalists—they are not entirely devoid of intelligence—but by the Free Trade apostles of this country. While almost everybody else has been laughing at the affair as a clumsy attempt to impress the mugs, not of the Germanic nations, but of the "entente" countries, the "economists" of the Cobden Club have been regarding the Conference as a sort of "red light," and have even been moved in their trepidation to inflict upon an already sufficiently suffering world a 150 pages or so of very serious and solemn consideration of the matter.

That the recommendations of the Conference were ever seriously intended to be carried into effect after the war has been thought hardly worthy of space for discussion in these columns. It will be the wonder of the age if the "Allies" can hang together through all that they have yet to endure before they arrive at the goal of victory, or survive the conflict of interests at the settlement, much less bind up those clashing interests with fiscal bonds and the like. Those interests are by no means made one by the war. It is extremely doubtful, indeed, if those interests are unified even as far as a complete and crushing victory over the Teutonic powers.

Be it said at once that in the brochure under review the author adduces many cogent reasons why the attempt to carry out the recommendations of the Paris Economic Conference would be sheer idiocy. Having said that I have done with that side of the question. If any reader wishes to waste a tanner on those cogent reasons he has my gracious permission to do so, and incidentally he can have my copy for tuppence, with the comment clucked in that "the fool and his money are soon parted."

But if the Socialist is not concerned with the question of statesmen making asses of themselves by chewing "New Protectionism" thistles, he generally feels disposed to have a cut at bourgeois economics (!) when opportunity offers, and opportunity offers now.

Mr. Hobson opens thus:

The policy of Free Trade is based upon a reasoned belief that all commerce is an exchange between the goods or services of one person and those of another, this exchange being usually effected by two monetary transactions—an act of sale and act of purchase. Both parties in such commerce are gainers from it, and their gains tend to be equal.

Our author having firmly based his creed on the unshakable quagmire of an economic fallacy, proceeds to enlarge upon a "series of separatist fallacies," of which

the second is the separation of the interests of the seller from those of the buyer, and the false assertion that the interests of the former are, or ought to be, superior.

If Free Trade is based upon the first-mentioned belief, then the Free Traders had better shut up shop, for the Protectionists have all the best of the argument. An exchange may be "two monetary transactions—an act of sale and an act of purchase," but there is a vast difference between the two. The seller of a commodity realizes profit, the buyer does not. The commodity is not produced for consumption, but for profit. This profit can only be realized by sale. The seller, then, is simply completing the process which finds its volition in the motive for all capitalist activity—the incentive of gain; the lust for profit. Therefore, it is not true that both parties are equal gainers by exchange, and

under the system the interest of the seller is the paramount interest.

As a matter of fact, of course, it is not at all necessary to believe that both parties concerned in an exchange benefit equally from it in order to become an advocate of Free Trade, and it is mere moonshine to say that the policy of Free Trade is based upon such a belief. The Free Trader who counts—the Free Trader among the ruling class—recognises the paramountcy of his interests as a seller, since he knows that in each cycle of his industrial operations—in which field the vast bulk of both his buying and selling is done—he sells more than he buys, and this difference between what he buys and what he sells is the sole incentive of his buying and selling at all.

He starts by buying raw material and labour-power, and he ends by selling the product of the combination of the two. And always, except in the comparatively rare instances where he has made a sad muddle of things, the amount of his sales exceed the amount of his purchases, else where does his profit come in?

Free Trade is mainly the policy of the manufacturer who hopes to sell in foreign markets, and for these reasons: If he has to pay a duty on his raw materials he cannot recover it in the world market, hence he is handicapped as a seller; i.e. he must either sell for more and consequently sell less, or he must sell for the same as has foreign competitors and himself shoulder the duty. In either case he realizes less profit. The second reason is that if his wage-workers have to pay a duty on their necessities of life he, the employer, will have to pay more for their labour-power, and again when he sells his commodity he realizes less profit.

And now mark the working of the mind of the bourgeois Protectionist. He usually is producing for the home market. If he has to pay more for his raw materials because of a tariff, he can get that back in the protected home market, while if he has to pay more for his labour-power because of the tariff on his wage-slaves' necessities of subsistence, he calculates that the higher price and wider market Protection enables his commodities to enjoy will more than counterbalance that disadvantage.

The underlying motives, therefore, of both the Free Trade and the Protectionist policies are not any concern for the equality or inequality of benefit arising from exchange, but the desire to have established that system best suited to the economic interests of the individuals holding the respective views. And it may be said that the tendency is to protect the home market when that market is of greater importance than the world market, and to resort to Free Trade as the export trade is developed. In view of this we may expect to see a revivifying of the Protectionist policy as the development of the manufacture of the more backward countries brings about a relative restriction of the foreign market for every country.

In close connection with this phase of the question "Free Trade versus Protection" Mr. Hobson may be quoted again. He says on page 8:

If the Bradford weaver gets Protection and nobody else, he stands to gain. But if all other British trades, local and national, engaged in making articles he need in his trade—e.g. wool, coal, machinery, dyes, etc.—or articles of food, clothing, furniture, on which he spends his wages, also get Protection, each duty to protect those other trades filches from him a bit of the gain he stood to make if the Bradford woollen trade were alone protected. A general tariff protecting all British trades equally would thus be found to make so many deductions from the value of the special Protection enjoyed by the woollen trade as to convert it from a gain into a loss. The higher prices of wools which his Protection enabled him to get would be outweighed by the added higher prices of the various articles required for use in his trade and for his private consumption.

This, of course, is incorrect, as is easily demonstrated. Let us suppose "a general tariff protecting all British trades equally," to the tune of, shall we say, 10 per cent. Our Bradford weaver buys "wool, coal, machinery, dyes, etc." (much of which being home produce, he would not have to pay any duty on value say £100 prior to the tariff). He then purchases labour-power of the pre-tariff value of say £50. Even if we assume that the whole of the material had been subject to the tariff, and the labour power had been produced entirely upon duty-bearing sub-

tance, the Bradford weaver would have to pay on account of the tariff 10 per cent. on only the amount of his outlay, £150. But when he came to sell his commodity in the home market he would find his foreign competitor penalised to the extent of 10 per cent. of the full value of the commodity, which would be, say, £200. So against an penalty of 10 per cent. on £150 the Bradford weaver finds he has increased opportunities (so long as he sells in the protected market), in the way of increased sales and higher prices, equal to 10 per cent. on £200. "His private consumption" is by no means sufficient to materially affect this argument.

Again, on page 6, our author talks through his hat. He says of the Protectionist:

He makes his separate appeal to the man as producer, tells him that selling is more important than buying, and that the money he receives is more important than what he can buy with it.

It is through consumption that the co-operative nature and value of commerce is realized.

The crux of the whole matter is, who does the Protectionist appeal to, or, for that matter, who does the Cobdenite appeal to? If to the capitalist, then it has already been shown that the capitalist is far more of a producer (in the controlling, not the operative sense) than consumer, and that it is to production that he owes all he possesses, which he realizes through the act of selling. It is logical, therefore to appeal to the capitalist as a producer, and both the Protectionist and the Free Trader are found to do so in the last analysis. Even Mr. Hobson does so when he says, "the higher prices . . . which his Protection enabled him to get would be outweighed by the added higher prices of the various articles required for use in his trade." On the other hand, if the appeal is to the workers, then it is about as logical to appeal to him as a consumer as it would be to try to interest a horse in the cost of his forage. Mr. Hobson assents to this when he states that the higher price of the worker's "food, clothing, furniture, etc.," "fiches . . . a bit of the gain" from the Bradford weaver.

There are plenty of other fallacies in the book under review, but I have room only to deal with one or two more. Mr. Hobson says on page 4 that

The notion that the expansion of foreign markets obtained within the last two decades by German or American traders is a corresponding loss to British traders is sheer nonsense. To a large extent those markets were "created" by the special economic and commercial activities of the German or American trader. For the rest, an enlargement of our foreign markets which, in default of German or American competition, might have taken place, would have involved a diminution of our home markets.

What a conception of the capacity of the commodities market! And what a conception of the modern capitalist power for production! Mr. Hobson says it is a falsehood to represent the commercial competition between two nations as "a struggle between two nations for a limited amount of profitable foreign market." He declares that "There is no such absolute limit to quantity of foreign market." Yet our author admits that there is competition! It would be interesting to hear Mr. Hobson's explanation of what that "commercial competition" is for, and how it arises. Nobody competes for that which is (in the practical sense) unlimited. It is limitation which is the very foundation of competition.

And then mark the ludicrous suggestion that it is productive capacity that is limited in that statement, "an enlargement of our foreign markets . . . would have involved a diminution of our home markets." The army of unemployed means nothing to Mr. Hobson; the factories working short time or closed down are without significance to him; the periodical crises, when the warehouses are choked with goods which can find no outlet in any market, at home or abroad, make no impression on his mind. One can go on producing to any extent, in our author's view, and the problem of markets will solve itself. If the market doesn't exist you simply "create" it. The only danger is that, if you "create" much "foreign market" the home market will have to go short because capitalist production is so inelastic that it cannot respond to the call for expansion. A. E. J.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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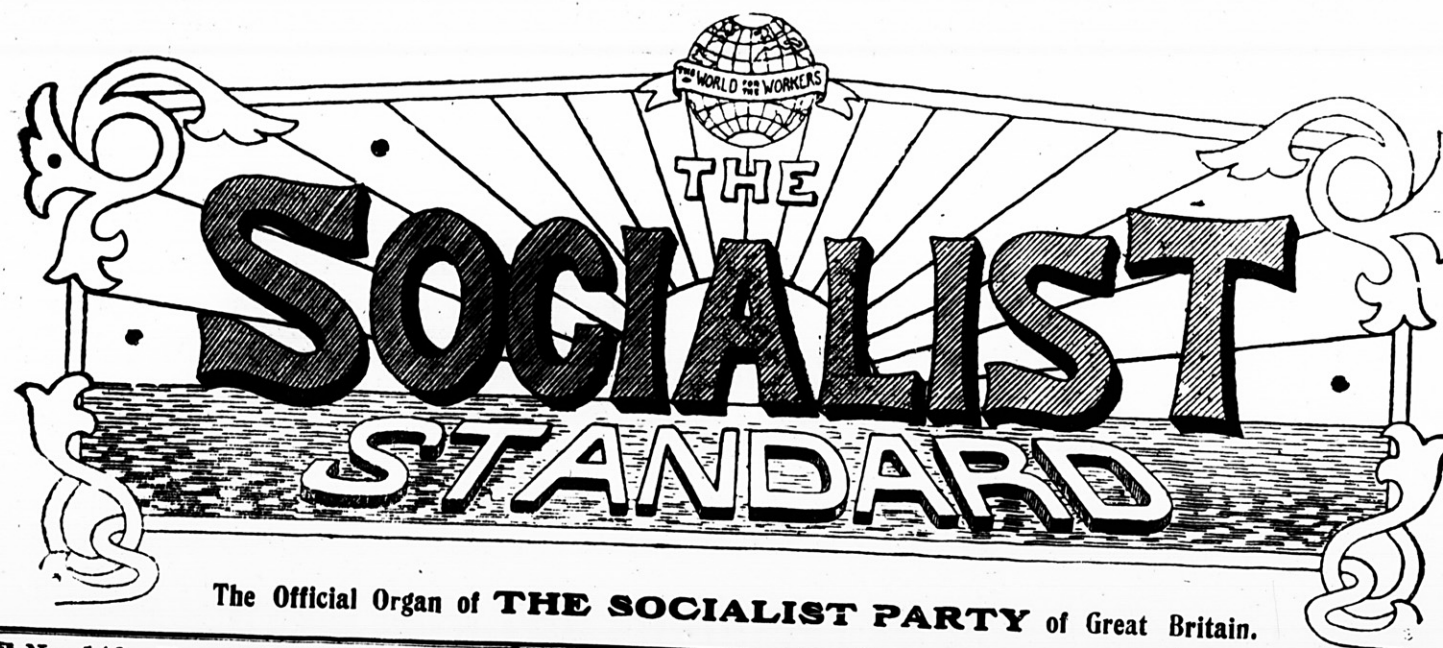
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

A BISHOP ON CREDULITY.

A PARSON'S POISONOUS PIFFLE PULVERISED.

"Christ died on the Cross," we are told, and a wag who knew something added, "and his followers have lived on the cross ever since." Consequently, when we read that the Bishop of London, holding aloft a "shepherd's crook," has commenced a series of open-air sermons, we must agree that the symbol fits the occasions. For if the crook is not emblematical of crooked ways it signifies a shepherd and sheep, and the sheep need a shepherd because the wool is drawn over their eyes. A beneficent capitalist executive, having for long realised the need of the sheep, have provided shepherds at a huge expense to their class. The Bishop of London is one of the provided (and well provided for—so well provided for, indeed, that he says, "Why, I wouldn't take another blessed farthing if it was offered me.")

At 58 years of age, and unmarried," says the Bishop, "I am one of the healthiest men in London." Even sheep with wool combed over their eyes should be able to see that it is possible for their shepherd, with such an income, to keep healthy for quite a long time to come. He need not live in a reeking slum, or work in the poisonous fumes of a factory, or feed on adulterated and semi-decayed food. With £15,000 a year he can have the very best of medical attention, and should live to a hundred. Even then he will not wear out—his duties are too light—and he certainly will not rust out, because, like most of the clergy, he is naturally oily.

Of course, the Bishop insists that his good health is the reward of a moral life, with especial emphasis on celibacy.

A word of explanation here. Personalities are not in our line; as critics we deal with suggested reforms, with social evils occasionally, and always with the capitalist system itself. But the Bishop of London comes out with a mission of regeneration, denouncing drink and prostitution and furnishing an example of moral rectitude in his own person; talks endlessly about himself. Consequently I take up his challenge and merely remark that no doubt every member of his audiences could acquire all his boasted virtues on his salary.

Of course the Bishop would question their ability to perform the duties of his position. What are these onerous and brain-racking duties? First, to understand the standard of intelligence of his flocks, to be able to discern what they will appreciate according to that standard, and then to tickle their intelligence by bolstering up all the vile superstitions that poison their lives and render them easy victims for his capitalist masters. He jeers at science—that pleases his flocks, to whom study and thought are painful—but if he were charged with ignorance of modern science he would

The Science of the Crook.

doubtless repudiate the charge with indignation. Yet in his discourse he adopts the attitude of one entirely ignorant of the facts and evidence of scientific evolution.

He selects two opposite points in the evolutionary circle and, ignoring the intervening ages with their endless panorama of development, seeks to ridicule science by comparing the phenomena of each, and by thus bringing them into juxtaposition, giving them the appearance of an absurd metamorphosis. His hearers, however, would swallow even this if it were only in "the book" alongside other miracles such as driving out devils and turning water into wine. But I leave it to the reader's judgment.

The following is from a "Daily Chronicle" report, 12.9.16.

The first thing that helped him to believe in God, added the Bishop, was Nature. "Why are we not blown off this earth as we rush through space at 10 miles a second?" he asked. "The answer is because Someone has wrapped 70 miles of atmosphere round the earth. The most credulous person who is here is the man who can believe that that happens by accident."

The Argument of the Crook.

One might as well say that by flinging broadcast a bundle of letters one could produce a play of Shakespeare as that the universe was not the result of a designed plan.

Of course, scientists have never suggested that the scattering of type broadcast would produce a Shakespearean play, or even so poor a thing as a bishop's sermon, though both, they tell us, and everything else good and bad, have come in their turn as a result of the long process of development from the clashing of dead suns, the diffusion of fire-dust, the fusion of nebulae, and all the subsequent physical changes that resulted in the existence of this planet with an atmosphere and temperature capable of nursing into maturity capitalist society.

When we say nursing, however, we fail to perceive the necessity of a nurse. Unlike the bourgeois bishop who must have "someone" to wrap seventy miles of atmosphere round the earth, we perceive that the forces immanent in matter being the eternal property of matter, must manifest themselves wherever matter exists.

But the bishop has the effrontery to tell us that unless we can conceive of "someone wrapping seventy miles of atmosphere round the earth" have no alternative but to regard it as an accident. He would doubtless be surprised to learn that in nature—apart from man—there is no such thing as an accident. Accidents can only exist as ideas in the brains of animals, like man, who are ignorant of natural laws. When we know all the substances in which matter can express itself, and all the forces that belong to those substances, such words as accident and chance will be meaningless.

Those who uphold a social system where the mass of the people are enslaved by a small class, which exploits and governs them, cannot conceive of law without law-makers. The physical world must be analogous with their social world—and the spiritual world of their imagination an echo.

The Credulity of the Crook.

If it, the physical world, reveals the fact that it evolves according to laws that can be understood and defined, that is evidence to them of a personality behind it—a supreme law-maker of the physical world, who was also its creator. Surely credulity cannot exceed this! Because an atmosphere envelops the earth "Someone" wrapped it round. Because suns are scattered like dust over the sky "Someone" arranged them. But the followers of this system of argument (!) never have the faculty of logic sufficiently developed to ask the old but still unanswered question, who created that "someone," and again, who created that creator, and so without end.

When scientific knowledge becomes general it will be seen that the idea of a supreme law-maker, together with a spiritual world and the ideas of chance and accident, grew in men's minds because of their ignorance, and its adoption and preservation by the ruling class is the outcome of their desire to maintain supremacy over the working class. To keep alive the fictions and superstitions of the past is to cloud the intellects of the workers and shut them off from real knowledge.

Thus are the workers, under capitalism, provided with a philosophy—a way of looking at things—ready made, that fits the system and keeps them mentally wedded to it. If sickness comes their way they must visit the panel doctor and have faith; when husbands and brothers are murdered in capitalist mines or factories, or butcher each other on the capitalist-made battlefield, it is "God's will"; when the worker is unemployed it is his "luck" that's out or he is "not worth his salt"; when we point to the class division of society—the ruling class owning wealth but not producing, and the working class producing all wealth but owning none—it is "God's will" once again, "otherwise it could not be."

It is small wonder that those who hear the message of Socialism for the first time fail to see in the working class the instrument of its fulfilment. It is only when they realise the full strength and meaning of Socialism that their doubts leave them. However ignorant and

The Exit of the Crook.

apathetic the workers may be to-day, the Socialist philosophy, pregnant with truth and appealing alike to self interest and the interest of their class, must eventually triumph over the traditions and superstitions of the past. As the torrent of

human knowledge, the efforts to dam it up, to confine it to the ruling class and their sneaking tools, becomes ever more futile. The very sanction that a capitalist government must have from an ever-widening circle in society—which compels them to extend the franchise—opens the way to discussion of all the facts of capitalist society, and teaches the worker to use his reason and judgment. As these faculties develop, Socialist principles will be understood and accepted by the workers generally, because they embody the truth of their social position, show them the cause of their poverty, and point the way to their emancipation.

Down the steep of capitalist anarchy the workers are driven to worse horrors and suffering. One by one the battle-cries and watch-words of their leaders and shepherds are proved worthless and discarded. Socialism—an object of contempt for the "respectable"—is first examined, next tolerated, and finally recognised as the only hope of the workers.

Poverty and misery cannot achieve Socialism, but those who suffer must needs seek the remedy, which they undoubtedly will find in spite of all the hopes and efforts of capitalists and their ecclesiastical agents to the contrary. The strength of Socialism to-day is in its principles, based upon scientific analysis. The last century has seen the triumph of science in the field of wealth production and distribution. Tomorrow will tear down the theological and economic veil that masks the slavery of the wealth producers, and, revealing to them the real nature of capitalist society, will forge them a weapon to break through the social forms that bind them, to a system dictated by science and common sense.

Meanwhile we are faced with a wily foe. Every discovery in the realm of science is discredited until it is established beyond doubt, when it is claimed as a manifestation of the power of "Almighty God" and a justification of capitalist society. Thus Galileo, when he, alone, proclaimed the earth's movement round the sun, was imprisoned and threatened with torture by the priests of his day; now celestial motions are claimed as evidence of supreme power. Darwin's theory of evolution was hotly contested by the clergy, and is even now ridiculed by the more ignorant among them; the more cunning, however, accept evolution and pretend to believe that "God" breathed into the elementary protoplasm and thus imparted the character of struggle and development.

Because the capitalist and his bishop are snug and self-satisfied they overlook the obvious—the poisoned nature of the breath. For their claim is an admission of "God's" responsibility for parasitism, the cruelty of religious persecution, the horrors of militarism, and the squalor and misery of the working class.

There is still one discovery they have not yet annexed to the glory of their universal dictator—the Materialist Conception of History, given to the workers by Marx and Engels 68 years ago. Over that discovery the last great conflict must be fought. Only the working class can bring it to an issue. The game of the master class is to ignore it because it is the key to social evolution, and leaves them stranded in the realm of sociology, without a divine law-maker or a divine purpose in their rule.

And Dr. Ingram, how will he regard it? For him it will be an accident, because it threatens with extinction his class and his vocation. To him it will matter nothing that the working class will rise to take over its inheritance—to free themselves from capitalist slavery. His sympathies are with his class, the class that he serves by fraudulently misrepresenting science, preaching decaying superstitions, and assisting to keep the workers in ignorance to facilitate their exploitation.

F. F.

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AMMUNITION FROM YANKEE-LAND.

An American Blatchford.

England cannot claim a monopoly of "Socialist" patriots. One of the leading types of American vote-catching "Socialist" Party men is Victor Berger, who was the lone "Socialist" elected to Congress from the city of Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin. At the present time there is a ballot amongst the members as to whether Berger should be re-called from the National Executive of the Socialist Party of America for his stand on patriotism.

Training the Children.

Berger stated his position in the "Milwaukee Leader," and outraged the feelings of some of the "comrades"—and to do that it must be pretty bad and rank.

Among his statements are the following:

Any man who is unwilling to fight for his class or nation does not deserve to belong to a class or nation. The "Leader," therefore, is in favour of a "preparedness" that shall unite and protect the bulk of our nation—that is the working people. . . . Thus preparedness must become a part of our early education by practicing calisthenics and by encouraging outdoor sports from childhood on, in order to produce healthy men and women. But this cannot be all.

National Servitude.

The more to follow that he promises is a new way of "protecting the working people." He says:

Every citizen should devote one year—between 19 and 20—to the service of his nation. The citizen—male or female—may stay at home during the time and receive for the service such pay as will be fixed by Congressional legislation. The education must be in charge of the nation and the nation must pay for it.

Such are the leaders and "brains" of the Socialist Party of America. No wonder "the Party" here is the happy hunting ground of freaks of every kind and of professional wind-bags who find a soft haven of refuge from work in preaching the gospel of Government Ownership and Christian Fellowship, seasoned with a little higher wages and more efficiency.

"Worse than Hell."

Mr. Berger closes his editorial with this:

We Socialists are as much opposed to militarism as we ever were. But the Socialist Party is not for peace at any price. War may be hell, but there are some things in this world worse than "hell." Real Socialists are willing to fight these things.

What "these things" are we are not told. Where ignorance is bliss silence is golden.

A "Socialist" In Sackcloth.

This puerility recalls the attitude of the present lone Congressman of the "Socialist Party," Meyer London, who represents the East Side tenement district of New York City, which has been described as "a pocket edition of hell." On May 5th there was a debate in Congress on giving the franchise to the people of the American colony, Porto Rico. After London had said: "The man whose vote you take away will have the right to put the knife of the assassin into the heart of any man who attempts to govern him against his will," an uproar took place in the House and a member moved that London be expelled unless he apologised for insulting Congress. Meyer London apologised. Not only that: as L. B. Boudin said in the "New Review," he did it "in such a miserable way that the reading of the printed record of the scene is sickening and disheartening beyond measure." And he asked, plaintively, "What has happened to London?"

History as It is Not.

The conspiracy of silence with which we were met in the English labour Press because we dared to expose the fraud of political compromise and reform advocacy, has spread to America. Ever since the war started the Labour and alleged Socialist Press of the United States has carefully refrained from referring to our Party at all when dealing with Socialism in Great Britain. The "New York Call," the privately-owned organ of the Socialist Party of America,

continually refers to the Independent Labour Party as the only party in England that is standing against the war, and this in spite of the fact that we have sent the SOCIALIST STANDARD regularly ever since our masters decided on war.

Some "News."

The "International Socialist Review" is a non-party magazine which is practically run in the interests of the I.W.W. and "Direct Action." The "International Notes" of the July issue (written by Wm. E. Bohn) are an example of the misrepresentation of the movement in England. Says Mr. Bohn, "The Independent Labour Party has been against the war from the beginning." To those who have carefully followed the actions and literature of this body this is grotesque. We know that right through the war it has allowed its members, and especially its members in Parliament, to push recruiting and to appeal to working men to join in this capitalist war. Even its alleged anti-war member, Ramsay MacDonald, states that "we" must carry the war to a successful conclusion. We know that long before conscription started the I.L.P. left it to each member to decide whether he would enlist, which is not a Socialist position. When we recall the speeches of the I.L.P. Members of Parliament like J. O'Grady, G. N. Barnes, Charles Duncan Adamson, Richardson, and W. C. Anderson, we realise the depth of the "Review's" distortion of facts.

Fact versus Fiction.

The writer evidently thought that the campaign against conscription (which was not supported by many of its Members of Parliament) entitled it to be called "anti-war from the beginning."

The Independent Labour Party is a part of the Labour Party which has used all its energy to support the war and seduce the workers into supporting it. The Independent Labour Party is pledged to maintain the Labour Party constitution and also its candidates.

When the "Review" says that "we on the outside are obliged to take the votes of the Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party as the true indications of Socialist opinion in England and to say that American Socialists are pleased with these indications," it is lying, and that is putting it mildly.

The Test of Socialism.

The Independent Labour Party, whose leaders like Keir Hardie and MacDonald, denied the class struggle; the party which advised the workers to vote for one of the capitalist parties in politics; the party whose members were allowed to support increased armaments; the independent labour party financed by avowed non-Socialists; a party which, as Engels said long ago, was brought into being with the help of Maltman Barrie, the paid Conservative agent; this organised body which has lately given support to the nonsensical propaganda of avowed anti-Socialists like E. D. Morel and Mr. Ponsonby, M.P.: this is the party which represents the true indication of Socialist opinion! Save us from such!

The British Socialist Party is also a true indication of Socialism! A party whose policy has been to support the Conservative and Liberal sections of the robbing class, which has advocated a Citizen Army, a score of rotten reforms, a large Navy and a strong Army, etc., without the protest and in most cases with the support of the very men who still form the rump of the British Socialist Party. The whole controversy within the latter, too, has been about details of war, and there has been no large conflict of opinion as to the support of the war itself—because the members do not understand Socialism.

I challenge the "Review" to answer—if it can. Perhaps, too, when dealing with influences against the war in England it may find space to mention the S.P.G.B. A. KOEN.

"SOCIALISM" VERSUS "TARIFF REFORM." BEING A REPORT OF A DEBATE

Price One Penny.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY.

I. INTERESTS.

The analysis of society is the logical continuation of the analysis of wealth. The problems which the nature of modern wealth presents ramify into all social relations and are reflected in all phases of social thought. Economic science is valuable in that it illuminates the conditions on which society rests, and thus provides the key to an understanding of its history, but it is by no means complete in itself. Thought must be translated into action, and it is when we come to the practical as distinct from the theoretical solution of the problems in question that we become impressed with the conservatism of existing institutions and find it necessary to discover some instrument for their overthrow. Prior to this, however, we must examine the exact nature of these institutions and their relation to their economic basis.

To commence with the last first, in considering the nature of the units of wealth, i.e., commodities, we arrived at the conclusion that the relations between them resulted from their mutual relations to an outside element, the human race. Only in so far as they were, all alike, products of human labour, was any meaning discovered in their exchangeability and the process of their existence generally. So in examining the relations between the units of society, let us pursue a similar method. We see already that they mutually enter into relations with outside elements, the various forms of matter which they convert (or have converted) into articles of use.

This is no mere whim on their part, but a matter of necessity. Human life is a material process demanding the continual absorption of matter and the use of the objects of the material world on an ever-expanding and more varied scale. From the simple process of digestion to the complex operations of the brain all human functions are material and presuppose objects either for the supply of energy or as a means for its exercise. The most idealistic of philosophers have never yet shown us how to live without eating, and living includes thinking, as a matter of course.

Human beings, then, have this in common—they are part of the process of organic evolution and, as such, have definite interests in the world around them. In pursuing these interests they enter into relations with one another, and according to the nature of these interests and the circumstances of their satisfaction do the social relations between them take their form.

Simple association in pre-historic times was a heritage from pre-human ancestors, and appears to be a feature common to the existence of all the higher mammals. Its basis was the quest for food and the necessity for mutual protection and assistance, and so long as the hunting and fishing (or, as an alternative, arboreal) mode of living continued this primitive tribal harmony was preserved. By degrees, however, it was destroyed by the domestication of animals and the discovery and development of agriculture, which claimed more intense application of effort and paved the way to slavery and conquest. Class rule was established, and as the mode of production has developed so has one class given way to another whose methods of exploitation were more up-to-date.

To-day antagonism is the most obvious characteristic of material interests. One and all must purchase their wants, "be they of the stomach or of the fancy," and must therefore be first possessed of money. This implies, again, that they have made a sale of some commodity or other. Thus all persons come to be owners of commodities and appear now at one pole, now at the other, of the commercial magnet. They are continually opposed to one another as buyers and sellers.

Our economic investigation showed these opponents to be divided into two classes—the sellers of labour-power and the vendors of all other commodities. These latter are also the buyers of labour-power since the commodities in which they deal are only produced by the action of labour-power on raw materials. We also saw that their object in purchasing labour-power is to obtain the surplus over and above

its own maintenance which it is capable of producing, and further that this process is only possible because the owners of labour-power are destitute of any other commodity or means of production and subsistence.

Now if, as we have seen, wealth in its various forms constitutes the basis of social relations, then the ownership of wealth determines the nature of these relations. Capital is the ownership of the social means of production and subsistence by a small class. It forms the pivot on which modern society turns, and consequently all social relations to-day take the form of an antagonism between two classes of opposite interests, i.e., capitalists and wage-earners. In place of the primitive free association for the satisfaction of common interests we have the compulsory subjection of one set of human beings and their interests to another set.

This division of interests in society is reflected in the constitution of the individual. Thus the average wage-slave, in order to secure the satisfaction of his stomach, enters a factory, office, or other stronghold of robbery, to perform tasks against which, more often than not, his brain and senses revolt, albeit somewhat blindly.

The greater portion of his energy is spent in producing value for which he receives no return. So far as he is concerned it is wasted and his life curtailed by just so much. With his wages he purchases the necessities of his commodity-existence, which are on the average no more than will enable him to perform his task to the satisfaction of his purchaser. If the nature of his employment demands that he shall wear "respectable" clothes, then his screw is adapted to this condition; if not, well, he considers himself lucky to get any clothes at all. If extreme muscular energy is required of him, then he can afford to indulge in quantities of food which would make the dyspeptic clerk green with other things than envy; but his expenditure must be limited in other directions. Everywhere we see that the standard of "living" of the various sections of the working class is restricted to the level which will enable them to subsist "economically," that is, as producers of value for the expansion and development of capital. They are not credited with possessing "higher interests," with the exception of those termed "spiritual." For reasons which will be explained later it pays the capitalist class to encourage these. Even his meagre economic wants are at the best inadequately satisfied. His food is adulterated, his clothes consist of shoddy, and his house is jerry-built.

For a scientific appreciation of nature the wage-worker has neither the energy, time, nor means to spare. For artistic enthusiasm in his labour and its products he has no inclination. The essential conditions of genuine science and art are freedom and the power to express oneself, which implies possession of the means for doing it. In the capitalist process of production the individual worker is a passive factor. It is not he who uses the instruments of labour but rather these instruments which use him on behalf of their owners. Incidentally he keeps his body moving after the style of an automaton, but only at the expense of his emotional and intellectual nature.

It is not, however, only the workers whose natures are rent asunder and who suffer loss of individuality. The capitalist himself, for all the luxury of his existence, is at the mercy of the system which creates him. His emancipation from the necessity to labour reduces him to an economically meaningless position. The means of production which he controls are social in character and do not provide him, their owner, with any outlet for his energies. His only function is to accumulate. To spend his wealth is beyond him, and if he ever tries, *a la Carnegie*, soon gives it up as a bad job. The best he can do is to indulge in insensate extravagance. His most exact science is a knowledge of his accounts. His highest art is the multifarious one of cheating and gambling in the commercial and financial sphere. Any other "science and art" he buys, as he buys labour-power, to augment or display his wealth. Showy advertisements of his goods, mechanical contrivances for reducing wages and increasing profits, pompous mansions with a retinue of flunkies, public libraries crammed with unintelligent technicalities and the dull prejudices of the bourgeois mind—

these are the fruits of his patronage. He calls himself a self-made man, but his words and actions proclaim him the creature of his money.

This is well shown by his never-ceasing fear of revolution. So much is the capitalist the embodiment of capital that he cannot conceive himself existing under any other social order than the present one. Change for him can only mean extinction, so he clings in morbid frenzy to every institution or idea which supports things as they are.

If the wage-earner has yet to learn to live and be a man the capitalist, on the other hand, has got beyond that stage. His day is passing. Rotten product of a rotten system, he has lost the possibility of manhood, and dissolution alone awaits him and his class.

To the Socialist worker revolution is the breath of hope which inspires him to learn and endure until his class is ready for the task; and his spare time and energy are readily given to assist his fellows to learn likewise. In order to satisfy their mutual interests they must dispossess the capitalist class of the ownership of the social means of subsistence and must convert these into the common property of society.

Present-day society is not the first to be characterised by division into classes with opposing interests any more than capital is the first form of private property. Other social systems based on other property relations have preceded it.

Primitive society was, as already hinted, communistic on a narrow scale. The unit of tribal organisation was the gens or clan, a group of kinsfolk which controlled economic affairs in the mutual interests of its members. Slavery and conquest, which were the outcome of agricultural development, put an end to this relation of equality. Slaves were prisoners of war or tribesmen who had fallen under economic obligations to their fellows. As private property increased in magnitude and importance, so the originally equal tribesmen became divided into rich and poor. There were, therefore, in the first civilised society at least three distinct classes, viz., slave-owners, slaves, and freemen who did not possess slaves.

The process of conquest, with its motive of territorial acquisition, broke up the independence of the local tribal communities and laid the foundations of Feudalism. The essential feature of this system was the military tenure of land. Freemen became divided into lords and vassals; slaves were converted into agricultural serfs or chartered freemen privileged to carry on handicrafts. Here we have a regular hierarchy of classes whose rival interests made the history of the Middle Ages.

The collapse of Feudalism and its supersession by the existing order have been briefly described in a previous article. Sufficient has been said to enable us to contrast Capitalism with previous social orders. In the societies just described class divisions were numerous and complex, whereas to-day we are faced with one simple line of demarcation, i.e., the possession of capital. To-day there are but two really distinct classes.

When the feudal aristocrats supplanted the local patricians, when again, later on, the capitalists overthrew them in turn, they simply substituted one form of class rule for another. Beneath the revolutionary class in each instance there existed the workers whose exploitation has formed the basis of all civilised societies.

When the workers overthrow their present masters they will end the last of the ruling, exploiting classes. By abolishing private property in the means of life they will eliminate the cause of hostile interests and class rule. In emancipating themselves they will free and unite humanity.

Their task, however, demands knowledge. At present their minds still hold the numbing superstitions with which their masters feed them. To criticise the mentality of capitalism is, therefore, our next concern. E. B.

Some months ago the Bishop of London declared that he was ready to "break stones if necessary," but though it has been found necessary to drag WORKING men from their homes for all manner of work, it has not been found necessary for his grace to soil his hands. Now the Bishop says he would not take "another blessed farthing" if it were offered. Has he any sense of humour?

In your columns you hint, as we have been told so often before, that religion is a necessity of national life; that God's hand is in the work of the scholar and his influence felt in the life of the savage. With the latter half of your contention I am in complete agreement. Knowing something of the history of Christianity, and a little of the life of savages, it is difficult to see how they would lose anything by exchanging a crucifix of Christ for the images of wood and hobgoblins of stone to which they are devoted. But whatever loss they sustained, or whatever hostility the substitution aroused among the base Indians or the cannibals of Tierra del Fuego, the proposal should be insisted on

English manufacturers would thus be able to export a large number of ivory Christs which are lying stagnant in the workshops. The other of your contentions I cannot so easily endorse. Voltaire, Tom Paine, Marx, Spencer, Darwin, were all great men; so if it is true that the scholar cannot work without God's help, then God alone is responsible for some of the deadliest arguments against his own existence and some of the wittiest satires on his own son.

We learn also that the Christian has worked and does work in the service of God. As a little pamphlet which we issue, entitled "Socialism and Religion," deals with the birth, life, and death of the Idea of God, it will not be necessary for me to speak of it here; I will alone consider the world's work of his servants.

What has the Christian done in the world which the Atheist has not? [Point to an achievement of a saint who has the advantage of intimacy with the Almighty and I will counter-balance it with an important work of a Free-thinker who is on no friendly footing with a divinity. Against the literary value of the Bible I place Shakespeare; against "Genesis" and the "Book of Job" I place "King Lear" and "The Tempest." We are told that St. Francis of Assisi held conversation with the sparrows and by the sea-side lectured the fishes. In contrast to these second-hand records of this laughable saint I place the beautiful lament of Burns over the field-mouse, written in subtle sweetness, not for the instruction of the simple creature which lost its nest under the ploughshare, but for the enjoyment of humanity. In the Psalms God gets praised in choice language, but no more tremendous melody of praise and sorrow has been penned than Shelley's elegy on the Death of Keats—"Adonais." Blake was intimate with the Almighty and kept in touch with the events of Paradise. Blake saw Eden and Hell. Blake had God as a model in his studio. Blake, so Blake claimed and many believed, passed through all the celestial and infernal valleys. He claimed that he had a special invitation, but I am inclined to think that it was just the result of an unsettled disposition. In any case his work has little artistic value or topographical importance. They are neither pictures nor maps of hell, so we must conclude that Blake was utterly foolish and could not learn, or that his divine instructor was out of touch with the modern French artists. I incline to the latter view after having read a biography of Blake by G. K. Chesterton. You may now agree with me, nearly-forgotten editor, that in works of beauty the saints are not supreme. But still the question remains—what have the religionists done which the sceptics have not? For an answer we must look slightly at the noble work of the world.

Look to the early days of astronomy and you will find religion there as a worm in the bud. The slightest slip from the ritual of the Church, the publication of the feeblest heresy or the mightiest truth, was followed by hellish punishment. From the time when the priests first got power until the time when they lost it they struck right and left in a mad, blind fury. Up till the time when Voltaire lived eight million people had perished in Holy Crusades. There is no doubt the biblical God made priests in his own image.

Bruno suffered after Copernicus; homes were ruined, arts and sciences enslaved; authors, reformers, philosophers were blinded, branded, tortured, poisoned, or burned. Blind with the love of Christ, the Inquisitors did not know their own kith and kin. The friend of superstition died with its enemy. The poet was exiled and the astronomer murdered. Not a soul must breathe a syllable of any fresh thought. Those among our friends who know the joy of listening to or uttering fresh truths will understand the deep gloom of this enslavement. It is not alone to those rare and lonely martyrs of the cause of progress that we must always feel grateful, but also to those nameless thousands who have gone to their graves with the fire of truth in their hearts, with wonderful thoughts unpublished. Well we may remember the intellect and honesty of those olden mortals who braved the smiles, bribes, and fury of Christ's ministers and dealt the first mortal blow to superstition, but we shall never know the details of the unhappy lives of those who were forced

to let their poetry wither away—not so much as whispered—hide their yearnings, stifle their young dreams, as a mother the child she loves and yet, fears to keep. We shall never be able to count the lost lives of the people, nor measure the infamies of the Church during those miserable years. The Church may do good by stealth, the rest of its work is on record.

Yet I am not of a spiteful nature, so I will offer Christians a few words of advice on how they may, if they will, become united. Do not write books, do not distribute crusts of bread, do not wage wars, for the love of God; but sow and gather corn, weave clothes, build houses, on communal principles, for the love of humanity. Study the poets, historians, scientists, and architects, then in the music of their sentiments you will forget old hells, conjurers, and tricky heavens. In the knowledge of architecture and the love of nature which follow you will burn all the churches that have corrugated iron roofs; in the strength of character which follows you will possess the foundations of future happiness.

No doubt you will often be told that an Atheist's life is black and vacant. The men who repeat this stale nonsense are all men of less brain than Bacon, who says in his "Moral Essays" that "Atheism leaves to man reason, philosophy, natural piety, laws, reputation, and everything that can serve to conduct him to virtue; but superstition destroys all these and erects itself into a tyranny over the understanding of men." Irrigation certainly accompanies an understanding of Socialism, but we Socialists can enjoy the picturesque parts of all religions, from the beautiful mythology of old Greece to that of the "Daily Chronicle." We may enjoy the beauties of the country, the wonders of the cities, the solitude of thesea, or its commerce. The riddle of the universe is still with us to test our wits and keep them keen. Books, music, and art are now strongly established as the elements. It is not much that we lose when we lose a Christ, a priest, and an iron chapel. We are progressing. The Bible can no longer be used as a weapon against us. It is rapidly becoming an entertaining book in our hands. With our complete freedom from superstition, political and industrial as well as religious, we shall have reached the time when the Chapters of Genesis may be raised to the superb dignity of the "Midsummer Night's Dream."

The religion of Christ was no more fit for the guidance of the world's workers than the fishing boat of Peter was fit for the circumnavigation of the world or the sandals of Joseph fit for a journey from Bethlehem to the North Pole.

But the old Church, the old slave-ship of Christ, last century was sinking fast and the wish to sail in solitary triumph was gone. Truth has been treated by their flinty clerics as a wolf with a small belly and a moderate appetite whose pursuit may be delayed with morsels of flesh. But Truth, instead, is like the sea on which no unprincipled ship can sail for long in security. The billows have been hammering at the old hulk of the Church for some ages now. Starting a voyage from Galilee, Christianity sailed smoothly for a thousand years or so, gathering up the slaves, stealing the treasures of free thought; its blight was terrible, absolute, and swift. Thus astronomy rose like a whirlwind; geology was as lightning. The surrounding sea beat harder and faster. The crumbling ship's sails were ruined, its masts were snapped at the roots. The passengers and slaves rebelled and after much turmoil managed to get some kind of a Reformation. No one cared what was tossed to the sea so long as the crippled ship was saved. Year after year the storm grew worse and Christ's compass led it astray. When their provisions were gone they turned cannibals; sect devoured sect. Last century the "Origin of Species" and the Socialist Philosophy were published and fell like thunderbolts in the old, rotten, rat-riddled, shattered ship. Amid the howling billows and gusts of wind the vessel sunk. In the wilderness of the waves it was lost with all its pretensions, tyrants, conundrums of Heaven, spectres of Hell, and the rest of its ghastly cargo.

I am afraid you cut a miserable figure, London Editor, as you stand on the shores of Fleet Street crying pitifully to the tempest: "Peace, be still!" Yet it will be interesting to see for

how long an editor may sit by a grave trying to restore a corpse to health and strength, and remain free from pity and contempt.

H. M. M.

THE GHOST OF JAURES LAID.

M. Jaures, the Blatchford of France, was assassinated just previous to the outbreak of the European war. At a recent Socialist (!) congress held in Paris, a minority, composed, presumably of anti-militarists, claimed that had Jaures lived he would have been on their side and against the war. Lt. Paul Hyacinthe-Loyson, advertised in the "Daily Chronicle" as "a prominent French Socialist," tells them and us, that "it is a cheap and easy game to lay claim thus to a corpse that cannot speak."

The genuine Socialist will not take sides in this body-snatching quarrel. Jaures' influence with large sections of the French workers is claimed by the advocates of two philosophies with little to choose between them. England possesses faithful facsimiles of both. We have the anti-militarists of the I.L.P., who are anti-militarists among other things, and may be Socialists when Socialism is too strong for them to resist it. We have, too, the "Socialist" Patriots like Lieut. Loyson and—according to the evidence he furnishes—Jaures and the majority of French Socialists.

Lieut. Loyson's evidence is most convincing. The anti-war party of the I.L.P. might just as well lay claim to Robert Blatchford as the "Zimmerwaldians" try to appropriate the ghost of Jaures. The latter, only a year before his death, "consecrated a book of 560 pages to the study of the best means for a democracy of waging war. A strange anti-militarist, forsooth, this theoretician of the art of fighting." We agree with Loyson, he is entitled to the corpse, and all that goes with it. As a Socialist Party we do not even seek a share in the possession of it. We not only deny the truth of Loyson's claim that Jaures was "the leader of international Socialism all the world over and its 'living torch'"; we deny emphatically that he was a Socialist even. You ask for proof—permit Lieut. Loyson, who so readily supplied the evidence that discomfited the Zimmerwaldians, to provide the material that will lay the ghost he himself has raised.

"Jaures," he says, "was, in fact, a great realist who threw the purple mantle of his oratory only over ideas that were healthy and well-muscled. Hence he always held that a whole could only be made up of its parts and that without nations there could be no Internationalism."

There is plenty of evidence in Loyson's adulatory article, and in the writings of M. Jaures, to convict him (Jaures) of having been anti-Socialist. But I select the above because it is novel and supremely childish, coming from one represented as a "living torch" with none but "well-muscled ideas." The scientists and philosophers, ancient and modern, who have been really great, have in the setting out of their systems, been often compelled to begin with simple definitions of terms and things for the sake of clearness. Thus Marx commenced his analysis of the capitalist system of society by defining and analysing a commodity. Euclid laid down at the outset postulates and axioms, and one of the latter was that "the whole is greater than the part." Unfortunately, few people get much further than the axioms or definitions of any science; that does not prevent them having the greatest respect for those who have gone farther. Those who, like Jaures and Loyson, have made it their business to mislead the workers, know that an assumption of scientific knowledge gleaned from the very first pages of really great works, makes a first-class impression on the minds of the ignorant. A neat phrase conveying an unquestionable truth, purloined from Euclid, Darwin, or Marx, is not only impressive, not only does it give safe foothold for the mind for a space, but it imparts weight to the trash that follows, and the recipient will doubt his own judgment rather than hesitate to swallow what is claimed as an obvious deduction. It may be

"cheap and easy to lay claim to a corpse," but it is not less "cheap and easy" to intersperse scientific commonplaces, cheek by jowl with false economics and capitalist shibboleths, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the workers.

"A whole can only be made up of its parts" is merely a variation of Euclid's axiom that "The whole is greater than the part," and "without nations there could be no internationalism" is one of the "healthy and well-muscled ideas" over which "the great realist threw the purple mantle of his oratory." Such unsophisticated and shallow reasoning—excuse the compliment—would scarcely seem worthy of notice were it not for the implication it carries. Without nations there can be no internationalism, therefore nations are necessary—they must be preserved, that the international may not die—that false and contemptible international that writes the parasitic labour decoys in common discussion for their mutual interests; that rotten international where they exchange their experiences, their successes and vicissitudes in the despicable game of bluffing the workers.

"Without nations there could be no internationalism." In other words, without capitalism there could be no Socialism, or Socialist movement; without classes there could be no class war; unless a small class own the means of wealth production and enslave the larger class, there can be no struggle of the slaves for emancipation, and so we might go on. Is it the struggle we want? Do we pray for the class war? Is the international—even the real international—our goal? No, Socialism, the common ownership and democratic control of all the means of life, is the objective of the Socialist. The international, when we get it, is only a means to the end. It is forced upon us because the workers will see the need for it. The ruling class will use all manner of excuses to keep the working class divided; the International Socialist movement will brush the ruling class aside like chaff. For the Socialist movement tramples down national boundaries, recognises the common link between the workers of every land—their poverty and slavery—indicts the ruling class as a robber class, establishes the fact, that poverty need not exist, that slavery can be abolished by the workers themselves, and that the quarrels of the ruling class are of no concern to the working class.

The working class of the world have a common bond that transcends every tie of race or nationality—their urgent need for emancipation. What matters the name of the country of your birth, if you are a slave in that country? What tie is it that links you to the lordly capitalist? You are chained to his machines, in his factories and workshops, and driven by the whip of hunger to produce wealth for him while you sink deeper into poverty. You are the robbed, he is the robber; you are the slave, he is the master. A bond of shame, a tie that is a degradation to every wage-slave, is the only nexus between classes, and patriotism is the acceptance and approval of the bond.

Capitalism in its ruthless and brutal progress breeds workers of less consequence than machines, and treats them with far less consideration. The greater the progress of capitalism is, the deeper is the poverty of the workers, the more widespread their suffering, and the more intense their anarchic struggles for existence. Their ever-increasing efficiency intensifies the struggle. Yet all that the ruling class can suggest, nay command, is more efficiency, greater efforts, and sterner self-sacrifice in the interests of trade, and loyalty to them in their scramble for the lion's share in the markets of the world.

In every land the dominant class holds away over the lives of the workers, moving them like pawns over the chess-board of civilization. From the slum to the factory, from the factory to the battlefield with the workhouse for the huffed. The dominant class wages scientific war against the workers. It maintains the necessary physical force to break down their strikes for higher wages, and with callous irony calls it "preserving order." It provides for an army of priests to lie about the "divine purpose of the Almighty God" in creating rich and poor—the first to be charitable and the second to be patient—while their only god is gold. The dominant class enlists from the ranks of the workers themselves all the gifted traitors who can fashion themselves

into the semblance of respectable labour leaders, entrusting them with the task of educating the workers in the way they should go for Christ's sake and capitalism.

Yet, in the midst of this hellish turmoil of capitalist oppression and anarchy, when starving millions only fail to strive for Socialism because of their ignorance, "Socialism's living torch," with academic calm and dignity, assures the workers that "without nations there can be no internationalism!" Nations first, internationalism second—and impotent: that was Jaures' conception. As the power of nationalism to grip the minds of the worker rises, so Socialism fades. But when the warm rays of Socialist enlightenment and knowledge illumine their minds with the promise of freedom and social well-being, their hands will clasp across national boundaries and their feet will tread them into the past. In that day the capitalist will "beat the bounds" in vain, the workers will know that boundaries and nations have no meaning or significance for them. These two, nationalism and international Socialism (and there can be no Socialism that is not international) are opposite as the poles, as antagonistic as fire and water. When patriotism and Socialism enter the worker's mind, patriotism will be quenched or Socialism will evaporate. The Socialist patriot is as impossible as the Christian Socialist. If he is loyal to the class that exploits him, he is a traitor to his own class. If he recognises and is true to his class interest, the class war will engage all his free time and energy; and he will laugh to scorn the hypocritical vapourings about the rights of small or big nations, seeing only in every nation a large or small group of capitalists—his own class being spread over the world, like an upper strata of the earth's crust, for each group to claim and exploit.

The real international will be built up on the facts of Socialism. The universal recognition of these facts will mean the linking up of the world's workers in opposition to the capitalist class. That class will practice nationalism and preach patriotism just so long as it serves to obscure the class struggle and keep the workers divided. When they have to face an enlightened and united working class, they themselves will stamp out every boundary in their urgent need for cohesion and strength to meet the workers' onward march. Imagine in that day, if you can, the members of the International Socialist Movement seriously discussing the proposition that "without nations there can be no internationalism." Such a proposition has no place in the Socialist philosophy. It is mere kindergarten babble to the Socialist. But to the anti-Socialist it serves as a premise on which to build his case for the loyalty of the workers to their exploiters. Jaures and Loyson have both used it in that way, thereby proclaiming themselves anti-Socialist. The Socialist does not care a rap whether the capitalist class divide the earth among themselves by rivers and seas, or by the lines of latitude and longitude. What concerns him, is the class ownership, which he works and organises to abolish. F. F.

BY THE WAY.

During the past month several conferences have been held in various parts of the country, and the reports appearing in the Press of their deliberations, though brief, are somewhat interesting reading. For instance, I gather that at the closing meeting of the British Association at Newcastle the subject for consideration was that of industrial fatigue. On this occasion one, Dr. Hunter, declared that the question of fatigue had been very much exaggerated, and he went on to say that:

In yards where they worked four and a half days a week of 37 hours there could not be any over-fatigue in the ordinary sense, but it was found that if men combined hard work with drinking whisky then over-fatigue might and did come in.

Men who did not take drink worked longer hours in his works and did not suffer in health or complain of over-fatigue.

Presumably Dr. Hunter would have us believe that the men engaged in the shipbuilding yards only work 37 hours per week, and that the main

cause of the trouble is whisky drinking. How many more times is the drink gag to be trotted out as the first and last reason of the failure of capitalist production? One has only to recall the shortage of munitions in the early days of the war to recollect that then there was the same outcry of drinking and shirking. The concluding remarks of the speaker are exceedingly interesting. He continues:

If men took a more intelligent interest in their work and worked harder they would feel very much less fatigue. The effort to work slowly was really very fatiguing. "Daily Chronicle," Sept. 11, 1916.

Of course, all those wage slaves who have had the good fortune to write daily time sheets and the privilege of punching the clock when they start and finish a job will be able to appreciate to the fullest extent the reference to "a more intelligent interest in their work." Delightfully funny, isn't it?

A reference to the foregoing conference in another paper states that "Dr. Oliver said that industrial fatigue did exist and played a very important part in the number of accidents that took place." There you are, you pay your money and take your choice. This quotation is from the "Daily Mail," same date.

The Chief Officer of the Board of Education has recently issued his annual report and has emphasised the value of open-air training for children. This is not in the least surprising when one takes into consideration the hovels that vast numbers of the working class have to inhabit from sheer compulsion. What with the dark and gloomy basements to the barrack-like "model dwellings" where the sun's rays hardly ever penetrate, is it to be wondered at that our children require open-air treatment and social welfare centres?

That the subject is a serious one, and particularly so in view of the wastage of war, may be gathered from the fact the Chief Officer states:

Not less than a million children of school age are so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides.

This in itself is a sufficient condemnation of capitalist society. Miss Margaret McMillan, commenting on the above, says: "That is a very low estimate. I should have said that the number of such children was two millions—rather more than less." Think of it you who toil and slave and who consciously or unconsciously support modern capitalism, what your apathy means to your children and your class. You labour that others may have ease, you build houses but live in dens where your masters would not put their dogs. Such are the legacies resulting from the private ownership in the means of life.

The lady above referred to cites a fact from her own experience in Deptford as to the condition prevailing there in the following words:

We once examined 127 children who were sent to our clinic to see if they were suffering from something other than the complaints for which they had come to be treated. And we found that 79 of them had weak backs and that 12 of these cases were so serious as to place the future lives of the children in jeopardy. Yet not one of these children had been sent to us as suffering from this complaint at all.

We ask you to study these things for yourselves, to get at the why and the wherefore of them, to recognise the continual slaughter of the innocents, and when you understand the cause of these abominations to join with us that an end may be put to a system of society which means poverty, misery and want for the vast majority, and assist in ushering in a new society wherein these horrors may be eliminated. Isn't this worth fighting for? (Quotations from "Daily News," Sept. 16th, 1916.)

Reference to the above is also made in "Reynolds's" (17.9.16) and may perhaps add further to the point. The writer asks: What are we going to do about it? The importance of the question to our masters is not overlooked as may be judged by this reference.

Time after time "Reynolds's" has pointed out the menace to the future of the nation which the neglect of children and child-bearing mothers means. Perhaps now, when the flower of our young men is dying on the battlefield, we may find widespread

recognition of the importance of making the best of our children. . . . But the greatest blame must be borne by the democracy, which has not insisted long ago on the sweeping away of many causes which make such a report as Sir George Newman's possible. Some of the evils are not preventable, but many of them are, and it is only ignorance and apathy which have allowed us to remain quiet while so little has been done.

Many of the "evils" are "preventable," then, if so, why not prevent them? Only the Socialist holds the remedy. Capitalist politicians and reformers have tinkered about with them long enough, and in the words of Lloyd George stand condemned, for has he not stated that as soon as they heal one social sore another one breaks out. Thirty-bob at birth, sickness and unemployment benefit, and old age pensions at 70 fail to touch the spot. Arise, then, ye workers!

Still they come! Another object lesson in the way patriotism is rewarded is to be found in a newspaper report to hand of a man who was in the 13th Essex Regiment and has been discharged "as being no longer physically fit for war service." The report states that the man threw up a good job early in 1915 to enlist. He was not a conscript, and he sacrificed between £2 and £3 a week. Passed as medically fit for active service he eventually began training and at last took up the work of a cook. He said:

We used to get our clothes soaking wet through at the field ovens, but there we had to stick, no matter what sort of weather it was. I have been at it many times in rain, snow, and blizzards. At Northampton in January it was awful.

The result was that his health broke down and ultimately he was discharged. The allowance his wife had been receiving was also stopped and he himself on the 10th of August received the following intimation:

I am directed to acquaint you that the Commissioners of this Hospital (Chelsea), having fully considered your case, have decided that you have no claim to a pension.—"Star," August 25th, 1916.

As this decision stands it serves to show the cold and callous indifference of those who in times past have framed the necessary regulations governing the grants of pensions. May it prove to be a means of opening the eyes of those who are used as cannon fodder to realise their true position in society.

The Trades Union Congress recently met at Birmingham, and an idea of the revolutionary nature of this body may be gauged from the fact that they were received by the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain. In his opening speech he "emphasised the need for effort all round, and made an eloquent plea for the preservation of that national unity which the war has brought us. He admitted the claim of working men to take a greater share in the organisation of industry than they have hitherto enjoyed, and did not attempt to gloss over the fact that the conditions in many trades in the past had been bad, and that every man who did his best deserved to obtain decent conditions of life and work and the opportunity of bringing up his children under cheerful and healthy conditions." How nice and kind our masters are when it suits them for the purpose of swanking the workers. Tell them part of the truth, how in many trades in the past conditions had been bad (as if they were not now), but for heaven's sake don't let them realise how they are fleeced.

In the same article the writer tells us that "the secret of industrial peace lies not in attempts by labour to squeeze capital or by capital to squeeze labour, but in the working together of employer and employed against the competition of outside forces." Here again we have the old bogey trotted out, the robbed and the robbers are to work amicably together in order to fight against "the competition of outside forces." That there will be "competition" for jobs here is religiously omitted from the article in question, and the writer says that the fear of a flooded labour market with the disbanding of our great armies is very largely "illusory." How simple all are!

THE SCOUT.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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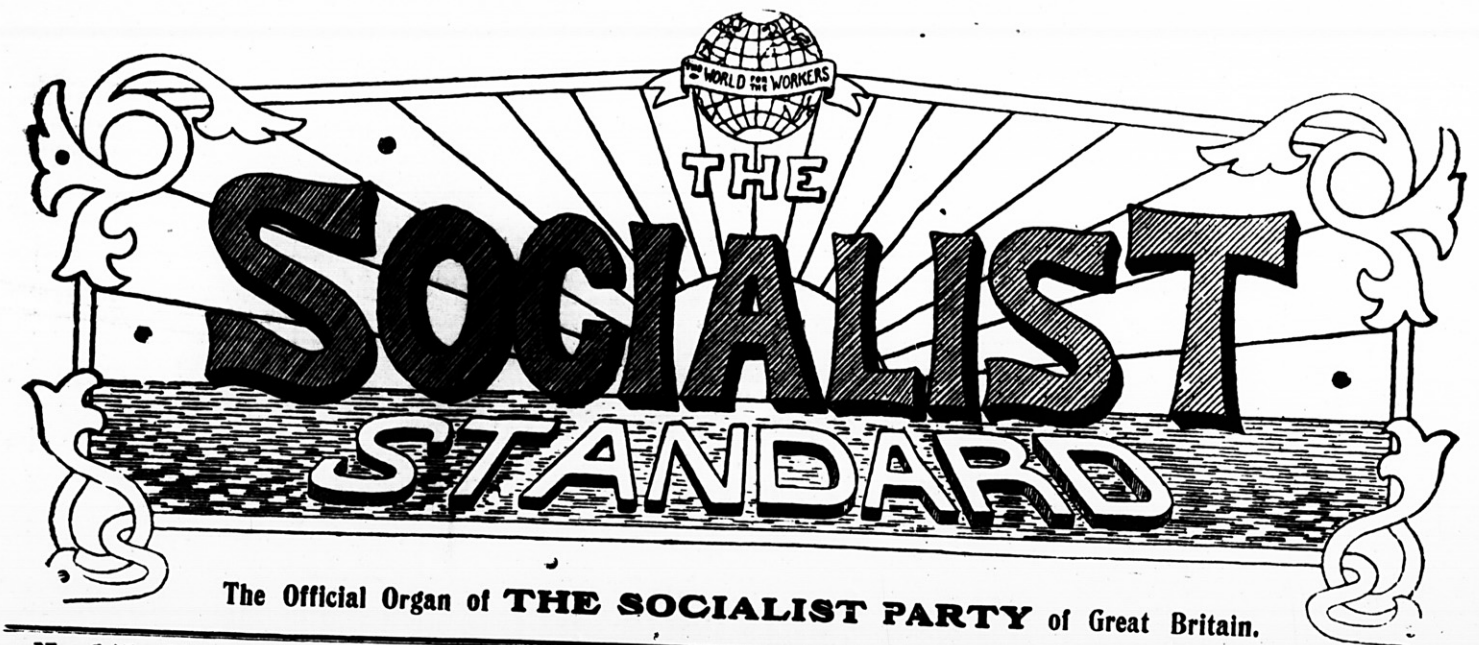
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[MONTHLY, ONE PENN.]

WHO PAYS FOR THE WAR?

AN EXAMINATION WITH ASSISTANCE.

Who pays for the European War is a question that needs a definite answer, in accordance with facts. The workers everywhere blindly hold the belief that it is they who are paying to-day, and for generations to come will continue to pay.

The Workers' Error. They ignore facts. They do not reason. They reach their conclusion by leaping from a condition of mind to an inference that has no logical connection with it.

Because the working class suffers, self-pity is generated and suffering is somehow translated into terms of cash.

But suffering will not receipt bills or meet liabilities. The war machines have to be paid for in cash—which the working class do not possess. It is a physical impossibility for them to pay: they are too poor. The deep and ever-growing poverty of the working class, in peace or war time, is admitted on every hand; but only the Socialist can explain its cause. In that explanation is to be found the answer to the question: "Who pays?"

The means of wealth production are owned by the capitalist or master class, to whom the members of the working class have to sell their labour-power, which they have to expend in the factories and mills, producing wealth that is owned by the masters. The price of labour-power is determined, as is that of other commodities, by its cost of production. Like other commodities, too, labour-power has its market, where the prices are raised or depressed in accordance with supply and demand. The supply being always greater than the demand, and the aim of the masters being to secure cheap labour-power, the price of labour-power is easily kept down to the level which insures for its owner just sufficient to feed, clothe, and house himself and his family—that is the minimum price at which labour-power can be produced and maintained in efficiency. Even this minimum is only arrived at as an average. The vast majority of the workers are forced to sell their energy at a price which does not replace it, their physical powers wearing and wasting away in the labour process long before the period of their fullest development is reached.

The workers' share in the total wealth produced is wages, and wages so low that they barely satisfy his material wants. Wages are spent as soon as they are paid—often before the necessities of life being obtained on trust. Every occupation has its army of unemployed, always on the increase. Competition for jobs intensifies, and with the return of the "piping times of peace," will intensify a hundredfold. The labour market has been flooded with female and child labour, and the wealth-production of pre-war times has been exceeded. With this added competitive element how is it

possible for the workers to sell their labour-power above its cost of production?

As wages must always be spent on necessities, and wages always tend to fall to the level of a mere subsistence, the working class will never be in a position to pay for anything beyond the necessities of life. If the cost of living falls, their wages fall. If it rises, they are compelled to struggle hard for an increase, failing which their toil and semi-starvation means for them a more rapid physical decay.

The wages that constitute the worker's share are only a fraction of the total wealth of society. By their labour the working class produce, not only the wealth they themselves consume in the shape of necessities, but also the vast wealth owned by the ruling class. The worker sells his labour-power for a mess of pottage—adulterated and served in a cracked basin—but his labour-power, expended under normal conditions, brings into existence fabulous wealth, which he neither owns nor controls. His claim on that vast wealth was relinquished when he placed himself at the disposal of a master at the current price for labour-power. He is between the devil and the deep sea. He must either accept the current price and become a wage-slave or starve.

The robbery of the working class takes place in the factories and other places where they are forced to sell their labour-power.

The One Long Stocking. They continue the labour process long after they have produced the equivalent of their wages. The surplus thus created constitutes the revenue of the master class. From this sum the cost of every collective action undertaken by their executive must be paid. They know better than to expect anything more from the workers after the process of exploitation is completed.

When a war loan is floated it is the capitalists who take it up. The silver bullets subscribed by a minority of the workers, out of their overtime, is a mere drop in the ocean. The dollars would not be worth the time expended in printing and collecting were it not for the opportunity it offers for the cult of patriotism.

The capitalist class finds the money to carry on war. A portion is paid in taxation; the rest is loaned by individual capitalists at a stipulated rate of interest, which is to be paid from future taxation. It is an arrangement confined to the master class and its executive, the workers, of course, being outside the scope of taxation because the machinery of capitalist society is adjusted to give a living wage, and no more, to the vast majority.

The government of each belligerent country, looking forward to military success, hope to impose an indemnity to cover their expenditure, in which case the successful country,

pays off its debt while the losing country must tax itself heavily to pay the indemnity.

The governing class of the conquered territory, however much it begrudges the wages necessary for the maintenance of its wage-slaves,

Plans for Plunder. can hope for little from that source. By squeezing the skilled and better paid workers an insignificant sum might be obtained; but the inducement to acquire

skill would suffer as a consequence. Efficiency has become a fetish with the capitalist, who, in general, realises that he must pay for it if he wants it.

There is an old proverb, applicable to others than poultry farmers, which says, do not count your chickens before they are hatched. But this does not deter patriotic writers from assuming the supremacy of the allies, and constructing a plan for collecting the indemnity. Thus, Francis Gribble ("Daily Chronicle," 15.9.16) outlines a scheme wherein

Germany will have to assume a liability, and put up security for the interest and the gradual amortisation of the debt. That security must take the form of a transfer of the mortgages. The Allies, in a proportion to be agreed among themselves, must become, instead of the German State, the universal mortgagees, with a lien on all German property, public and private, real and personal.

The beauty of this plan is, according to Mr. Gribble, that those responsible for the war will have to pay. He divides Germany—the German people—into two classes, wage-workers and property owners. He does not assume for one moment that the former have the power to contribute anything whatever. They are propertyless; they have no property to mortgage. But the real property owners, those who own the means of wealth production, can be bled. It is a case of the robber being robbed.

The proper plan will be for the Allies to become mortgagees in possession. In the case of the land and houses, they can either draw the rents or institute some system of purchase, enabling the occupants to buy back the holding by instalments. In the case of industries, they can put in receivers to carry on the business for their benefit, just as debenture holders do in the case of insolvent joint stock companies.

This, then, is the contemplated plan to make German capitalists pay for the war. The results of their exploitation of the German working class are to be appropriated by the allied capitalists,

No Delusions Here. and no German shall be allowed to own any property, or to handle any money that he does not earn, from day to day, by the sweat of his brow.

Mr. Gribble, faithful servant that he is of the allied capitalist groups, throws the whole blame of the war on the German capitalist group. According to his plan they are able to pay and should be made

to pay, and suffer as well. He freely exonerates the working class from any complicity in the crime. They had no voice in the councils that declared war. They had no promise in a share in territory that might be won, or markets that might be gained. Neither will they be permitted to aspire to the honour of paying. "The common people," says Mr. Gribble, "will have in the future, to work, and to work hard." Of course the workers in the countries that are going to win are being told they will have to work, and work hard to beat their rivals in the world's market; but that is only a detail.

But that work will not be punitive. It will be done under normal conditions, and for reasonable remuneration. The men engaged in it will be earning their living, in accordance with their capacities, as of old. They will no more be slaves than are other workmen in other countries.

From these quotations we are justified in drawing the conclusion that the working class of the conquering and conquered territories will not have changed their status. They will have to work, and work hard, as they did before August 1914, for what the capitalist is pleased to term a "reasonable remuneration." Mr. Gribble makes the position quite clear. He says:

The first charge on the businesses will naturally, and, indeed, necessarily, be the wages of the employees. They—the working classes of Germany—will suffer no detriment from the change. Whether they work for foreign or German capitalists, their position will be the same.

"Naturally and indeed necessarily" wages must be paid. Thus Mr. Gribble recognises the inability of the workers to pay. It is natural and necessary they should have a living wage. Neither does it matter to them who pays the wage, German or foreign capitalists. By the same token it matters nothing to the workers of Belgium, France or any of the allied countries, of what nationality the capitalist who pays their wages. Further, and this is the logical deduction from Mr. Gribble's reasoning, as the workers of all the belligerent countries continue to produce fabulous wealth for a parasitic capitalist class in return for a bare living wage, they stand neither to gain nor to lose from the struggle; they have no possible interest in the result.

The capitalist class in each of the belligerent countries own all the means of wealth production, and all the wealth produced by the working class over and above the workers' necessities. To realize in hard cash the value of that wealth they need markets. When the different groups of capitalists, with this object in view, come into collision, they drag in the working class to fight it out. The victorious group or groups of capitalists impose an indemnity which reimburses them for their outlay; and if some cunning neutral does not step in while the quarrel is on and get the market, they get that too. The indemnity is taken by the executive or government, on behalf of the capitalist class, and the latter deliver their goods in the markets they have won, realizing in cash the results of their exploitation. And the working class, where do they come in?

They play the same role they have played ever since feudalism gave way before a triumphant capitalist class. They drag their weary bones through the factories and slums allotted to them by their masters. They beg for work when it is rest they need. They build the spacious palace for their idle masters and crowd themselves into hovels, without regard to health or decency. They ransack the earth for rich delicacies to tickle their masters' palates, and plead for a cheap loaf for themselves. They weave rich fabrics for the playthings of their exploiters and in rags and tatters they slouch, in thousands, to the workhouse.

War only adds to their suffering while they stand to gain nothing by it. They have no share in the plunder, for which war is made. They have no more interest in the settlement of the quarrel than has the ground they tear up by artillery barrage.

For whichever side wins they will suffer no detriment from the change. Whether they work for foreign or "native" capitalists their position will be the same.

While capitalism lasts, they, the working class, will be wage-slaves. The wage being the cost of necessities for the slave, when these are

obtained the wage has vanished. How is the working class to pay for a war waged with all the extravagance and profligacy of an irresponsible ruling class? Millions of the workers cannot afford the few coppers required weekly, to fight their own battles against the masters. Yet every strike that takes place is of greater import to them, from an economic standpoint, than a dozen European wars. By their trade-union activities, they resist the depression of their standard of living. But capitalist wars and capitalist victories leave the workers' position untouched in any essential.

But though the capitalist class can and will pay for the war waged in their interest, their paying will not mitigate their crime against the workers of the world, who, if they would prevent its repetition, must understand Socialism, and organize to strip the master class of its power, in peace and war, as a preliminary to the establishment of a sane and healthy system of society, wherein property will no longer be owned by a class, but by society. F. F.

DETESTIBLE YEARS.

Earth is sick
And heaven is weary of the hollow words
Which states and kingdoms utter when they talk
Of truth and justice.

—Wordsworth.

The rough, black years tower over the nations and no man can escape their might. Whatever our work or inclinations we cannot be free of the net of this war. The old man shut in his house is caught in the mesh, just as the young man who battles for a noble cause in public. Old occupations are away, old impulses are put to sleep, old schemes, wishes are battered and injured; good sentiments are rare and broken. Malice, fraud, cruelty and ambition are feeding fat, while misery follows misery close as thunder clouds when there's rain and lightning.

Yet it seemed as though the transition from quietness to bloodiness was only a matter of hours. It seemed scarcely an hour before this shadow fell on Europe that the lands were sparkling with new hopes: from end to end of this kingdom the workers listened in contentment to the sweetness of the parliamentarians, to the masses of clerics, and to the sovereign officials of trade unions. For there had come a leader among men, one above all, one with a gentle, sorrow-sodden heart in which he kept ancestral Celtic fire. I have heard that he was a Welshman. We were told that every fibre of his body thrilled with the misery of the poor, whose mourning was as an everlasting dirge in his sympathetic ear; we learned that a sweeter heart, more in unison with the poor, never beat in old England. Over the land there was hope, and, despite the fact that his Celtic wit looked stale and cold in print, that acres of corn were too largely introduced into his speeches, that there was a superabundance of stars and too many unnecessary rainbows in his answers to questions, he must be given credit for a most astonishing thing. It is this. Although on the introduction of his Health Insurance Bill the vast bulk of the heavenly angels were indifferent to it, he did manage to interest in his proposals one Angel of Light with a less stern heart than his or his companions in Paradise. Forthwith this celestial spirit, on the invitation of the Cabinet Minister, arrived on a sudden at Kings X, incognito, and was about to start on a tour of the slums, when the world shook in the fever of war and the traffic in metals and men started. Ever since the election of the Liberals we had awaited the coming of this luminous visitor, so it was a pity that, when the diplomats let slip the dogs of war and the clownish thwacking of the drums commenced, the burning guest should spend the night, among old friends, in a rent-collector's office. The angel's host, the gentle Welshman has become War Minister.

The war seemed to happen in a moment of noble indignation against the crimes of Germany. It seemed so, yet it was not so. Long before the war's outbreak stealthy preparations were being made for the carrying on of the war with Competitor Germany. The first thing to be done was to inspire the people with confidence in the politicians. So certain gentry were

boomed and praised in all ways so they might use their inflated prestige, on behalf of the masters, during any crisis. Principally through the means of sneaking newspapers virtuous reputations were gained, and are at this moment proving of value to the capitalists. It would seem that so long as a man is a reactionary with influence it does not matter what his other characteristics are. If he is ignorant then he is named sound and democratic; witness Will Thorne. If he is cruel and unflinching then he is praised as unbending in the people's cause; witness Kitchener. If he is a chatterer then he is an orator; witness the Welshman. If he is silent then it is the quietness of strength; witness the Prime Minister. With several newspapers at his back, with a thousand lies ready at hand, the most foggy idiot, the worst shivering coward may gain a reputation for sobriety, dignity, wisdom, truth, and courage.

The virtues of the hierarchy having been planted, nourished, and a false impression of them established in the minds of the people, the politicians could turn their attention to other items of preparation. Before this war the Socialist enlightened the workers as to the worst which capitalism can do. It was not the worst to deal you out shillings from the pounds you earned, or to defraud you in the workshop or dominion over you there, or to tire your body, or to exhaust your brain. The level of life was bad but the level of life was not the worst. While you took your shillings contentedly, and derided the Socialist for fighting phantoms of evil of his own creation, other forces were sleeplessly and silently working towards this volcanic carnage on the Continent. Midding folk with power were forming treaty on treaty which have now contributed to this wreck of the nations, this modern mockery of civilisation. The worst Russians were unearthed to do vile business abroad, the most squalid Japanese too. Greedy eyes were wandering over the mines of the world: they were listed in secret catalogues. Constantinople has been secretly valued; the riches of Morocco have been estimated; Albania and Montenegro figure in the hidden sheets; the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine are totalled in the chronicles; Finland and Persia have wealth which cannot be overlooked by the avaricious. There are diamonds here, salt there, mines elsewhere. Ports, coasts, mountains, rivers and valleys of value to the masters of one land are exploited, guarded, and locked by the ships and guns of alien authorities. All the lands concerned in this war were filled with growth and rush, avarice, hate, and rotting commodities. That is the natural result of the principles of competition in modern societies, and they are the reasons for the present clash of arms. All this chatter of liberty and honour, of which we are sick, is like fat wrapped over the old skeleton of profit.

Each of the fighting nations prepared for the inevitable conflict by a combination of forces similar to that of England's. Each erected barriers of soldiers and floated nets of ships, and in each country the workers have been cunningly engulfed to effect an interchange of vineyards and mines, cities and seas, which will in no way change their condition of wage slavery.

These then were the martial circumstances and commercial facts with which the war opened. During the early days of the campaign we might have expected that the avarice of the masters would have been redeemed by some show of skill, and their scoundrelism equalled by their judgment. It was not so. They were bigoted in their ideas and stuck to their hum-drum traditions. In the more noble occupations of life men of genius are not trammelled by tradition. Shakespeare disregarded almost all the laws of Athenian Drama and sang his own mighty plays to perfection. In France, rough Francois Millet was unworried by any remembrance of the smooth Italian Primitives. Walt Whitman was not troubled in his mind over the metres of the past poets. Neither is the Socialist to-day deceived by the conclusions of Ricardo, or Mill, or Ruskin. In all such work vast ideas find new vast expression. It is always so with true genius. It has not been so with the main men in this war, for they have not even the evil spark of military genius, but are prompted solely by ambition, which mimics talent and is

(Concluded on p. 20.)

SOME ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

Wherever man may be and at whatever period we may examine his condition, one plain fact is apparent to even the most casual observer—that man never gets away from the elementary needs which his body requires to perpetuate its life. No man has yet learnt to live without at least food and drink and in all probability never will do so. To-day, at all events, may be added also shelter and clothing. It is obvious, then, that at all times man has to obtain for his upkeep a certain quantity of materials, as for example, food and clothing, which materials we sum up under the name of wealth.

There is only one way in which this wealth which is so necessary to human life can possibly be produced, and that is by work—by man applying his labour-power to the manifold natural resources of his surroundings and adapting them to meet his needs by transforming them into objects of utility to him.

To-day only a section of the whole society apply their energy in this way, and this section is appropriately termed the working class. In the factories, the fields, the mines and the shipyards; on the fishing boats, the merchant ships and the railways, the working class toils to pile up the vast quantity of wealth which the community uses and consumes. But, as every workman is aware, the workers do not possess the wealth thus produced by them. The workers in the factory do not own the boots they have made, nor yet the value in other goods which they represent. Neither are the products of labour owned by the society as a whole. The wealth produced by the working class to-day is turned over in the first place to either individuals or groups of individuals of another class in society distinct from the workers—the employing or capitalist class.

But the workers must needs continue to live if they are to continue to produce, and therefore wealth in a certain quantity must be allotted to them. This wealth which is returned to the worker—called wages stands, however, in no direct relation to the quantity of wealth which he produces. Wages usually vary according to the supply of and demand for labourers, just as the price of butter is high when the demand for it outstrips the supply and is low when the supply exceeds the demand. And, moreover, this comparison reveals more than a mere accidental resemblance, for under present-day conditions the labour-power of the working man does take on the character of merchandise just like butter. The worker's labouring energy is bought and sold to-day as a commodity, and the "labour" market is as commonly referred to to-day as is the cattle market. Wages, indeed, are the price of labour-power. What it costs to keep the workman up to the required standard of efficiency and to enable him to reproduce his kind in sufficient numbers, is the normal point about which the price variations caused by supply and demand fluctuate.

This explains how it is that, although the amount of wealth produced by the workers has progressed by leaps and bounds, and is continually increasing, their position, estimated by the quantity of wealth which they receive, does not materially improve. This is so because the amount of the workers' wages is determined by circumstances which are quite different from those which fix the productiveness of their labour-power.

The use of improved machinery in production, for example, increases the wealth-producing capacity of labour. But does this cause a corresponding increase in the wages of the worker? Not at all. By a little elaboration, in fact, it can be shown that the opposite actually tends to occur. Perfected machinery renders less labour necessary to turn out the same or even a greater number of products in an equal time. Fewer workers are required and the superfluous ones are dispensed with, forming a more or less permanent body of unemployed. This increases the supply of labour-power relative to the demand, and tends to lower wages. By lessening the skill and dexterity required by the worker machinery also enables unskilled labour to be employed which costs less to produce by eliminating special training, and is therefore cheaper.

This also lowers wages, and the same effect follows from the fact that with machinery less strength is usually required and the cheaper labour of women and children can be introduced.

With these facts in mind we will not be surprised to find that despite the enormous and increasing body of wealth created as the process of production becomes ever more perfect, the wages of the working class, as estimated by their purchasing power, have since the beginning of the present century gradually declined. On the other hand the wealth remaining with the capitalists after the wages of the workers are deducted, and out of which they obtain their profits, shows a corresponding tendency to increase.

The capitalist, as such, takes no part in the production of wealth, yet he retains possession of the product of the worker's labour. This he is enabled to do because he is the owner of the material means necessary to production—the factory, machinery, raw materials, etc. He owns the wealth produced as the result of his ownership and control of the means of its production. In the Middle Ages the craft worker also owned the tools and material of the productive process, and was able to appropriate the resulting product. But there is this immense difference between the economic status of the modern capitalist owner and that of the handicraftsman of old: whereas the capitalist does not partake in the labour process himself, but reaps the return of the labour of others, the craftsman was a worker and himself used the means of production of which he was the owner. He therefore appropriated in normal cases the full value of the product of his own labour. As a consequence, in spite of the primitive tools and methods then in use, and of the small quantity of wealth which a given expenditure of labour yielded in comparison with that of to-day, the lot of the hand-worker was in many respects better than that of the modern wage-worker.

Prof. Thorold Rogers says of the artisan of the fifteenth century that he could supply his family with sufficient provisions to keep them throughout the year with what he earned in ten weeks.

To-day the working class, who form by far the greater part of the community, receive less than one-third of the total wealth produced, although none but themselves raise a hand or turn a wheel to help in its production. Over ten millions of the population of Great Britain live in a condition of perpetual poverty. This is certainly not because there is not enough wealth, for never before has it been so plentiful and so easily produced. The mighty mechanisms of modern production turn out goods a thousand times more quickly, and with a much smaller expenditure of labour-power than was possible in our fathers' day.

This frightful poverty cannot, therefore, be due to limited production. The problem of producing wealth sufficient to supply the requirements of all in society has been solved. Therefore the material conditions necessary for the abolition of poverty already exist. Seeing that poverty is rampant, what are the conditions which are wanting if the material ones are present? The answer gives us the key to the poverty problem of to-day. It is the social conditions which would transform the existing giant means of production into agents for the elimination of economic poverty, which are the missing factors in modern society. The social conditions of to-day, based upon the commodity nature of labour-power and the private ownership by the capitalist class of the means of production and distribution result, as we have seen, in poverty for the workers and a superabundance of wealth for the idle capitalists, and must be superseded by other social conditions if poverty is to be abolished.

And what are the conditions which are necessary to bring about this much to be desired end? Let us recall some of the points we have already noted.

1. The producing class to-day do not own the means of production which they use, nor yet the wealth which their labour produces.
2. The capitalist class to-day own and control the means of production and distribution, which they themselves do not use, yet they appropriate the product of the workers' toil.

3. The handicraft worker of the Middle Ages owned and controlled the means of production which he himself used, and also the wealth, or part thereof, which he produced.

We can draw from these three examples the following general principle: *to the possessors of the means of production goes the product of the labour process.*

Seeing that the workers, who create wealth in such abundance as to be capable of providing ample comfort for all, are poor, the only sure way in which this condition can be changed to the workers' benefit is by bringing the product of labour into the possession of those who create it. To do this it is necessary that the workers should own the means of production, as the handicraft worker did.

The puny tools of the handicraftsman were, however, only suitable to individual use, and the worker who used them performed all the operations which were necessary to turn out the finished product. Consequently there could be no doubt as to where the product of his labour began and ended; it was all his product; he knew exactly what he had produced. But does this also apply to day? No! for in modern production the labour process is divided into numerous sub-processes each performed by different machinery manipulated by different workers. No one man makes a product from beginning to end. The labour product is the result of the collective activities of numerous workers; the machinery is worked collectively and the raw material is consumed collectively.

The interdependence of the workers engaged in each industry is extended throughout the entire community as the various industries become more dependent upon each other, and it even develops on an international scale. To-day workers in England often rely for the raw material they use upon workers on the other side of the world, and possibly their product forms the basis of a further industry in another part of the globe.

To-day we can with truth say that the entire process of producing wealth has become social. The workers engaged in any occupation or industry are no longer independent and self-supporting producers, but are only useful as producing agents in conjunction with, and as a part of, the producing class as a whole. No individual worker can, therefore, be said to use the means of production himself. At the most he could use the means of producing a part of the product, and he could not own and control these, for what control could be exercised over possessions which would be useless and a burden except in conjunction with the rest of the productive forces? Likewise the impossibility of any worker owning personally the product of his labour under such conditions is obvious. There would be no means of ascertaining the amount of the individual's product, and although each individual might not lay out an exactly equal amount of energy, yet as the product only resulted from the combined labour of the whole, all would be equally necessary, one no more than another.

The only conceivable way in which workers collectively operating the forces of production could own and control these forces would be by collective ownership—the means of production and distribution forming the common property of the entire working community.

When those who work, or, more exactly, all those essential to the continuance of the social productive process, by owning and controlling the means of production and distribution, also possess all the wealth they produce, there will be no means whereby an idle class in society could obtain their subsistence. Therefore there will be no idle class. All society will then form one united community of workers. In conformity, then, with the principle that the producers must own the means of production which they use, these means must be owned by the whole of society.

To abolish poverty and to guarantee economic security and comfort to all, what is necessary is "the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community." That is the Object of the Socialist Party. R. W. HOFFLEY.

In the ancient and medieval worlds the interests of men were shrouded in mystery. Hence they found the explanation of their actions (which were the products of instinct derived from prolonged habit) in a sense of right and wrong. The capitalist class is not so constituted. It is class-conscious to the roots of its hair, whatever its

colour may be, and it knows its interest to be dependent upon force in the last resort. So long as the workers remain ignorant of their class interests religion and morality will be preserved, but with the growth of a revolutionary consciousness among them these "eternal truths" will vanish like mists before the sun. Economic emancipation will be accompanied by intellectual and emotional freedom. E. B.

BY THE WAY.

Much has been written and said with regard to the question of British Prisoners of War and their treatment in Germany, but of late various items of news come to hand which tend to show that the "Ger-Hun" can be out-Hunned by the Brit-Hun. Witness the following:

The Newhaven Guardians have declined to admit for treatment to their workhouse conscientious objectors working on the Newhaven to Seaford road improvement scheme who fall sick. "Star," Sept. 23rd, 1916.

And, again, there is the report in the Press of a conscientious objector who met his death at Dyce, near Aberdeen, under the administration of the Military Service Act. Whilst the Local and the Appeal Tribunals disallowed his claim for exemption, after nearly concluding his sentence pronounced by court-martial, he was re-examined by the Central Tribunal and offered work of national importance—a reversal of the two previous decisions. He was eventually sent to Scotland and there contracted a chill, the result of leaky tents and damp soil, with no provision for drying wet clothes, from which he died.

Dr. Clifford describes this as:

The latest of a long series of incidents demonstrating the injustice of the new conscription policy, and the fearful tyranny of our growing militarism.

Further he adds:

The fact is, we have been grossly deceived. Faith has not been kept with the people. With or without intending it, the Coalition Government has betrayed us. Parliament distinctly arranged that conscientious objectors should be safeguarded. "Daily Chronicle," Sept. 9th, 1916.

A later announcement on this case states that a Deputation from the Home Office visited the camp and a "representative of the men stated afterwards that the Committee decided that the tents should be abolished and arrangements made with local farmers to accommodate the men in lofts. A building is to be erected to deal with cases of sickness."—"Daily Sketch," Sept. 20th, 1916.

When cases of neglect or ill-treatment of prisoners of war occur in Germany large headlines and long articles are necessary to point out the enormity of the offence, reference being made to the Hague and General Conventions, etc., but when it is the Hun in our midst a short paragraph suffices. Such is our prostitute Press.

I well recollect how important, in the days of my youth, it was considered to be that my religious instruction should in no wise be neglected. And so it came to pass that at this period of our existence we used to read that "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," the meek "shall inherit the earth"; and many other such texts. But in due season one came to the conclusion that in the first quotation the printer had omitted the prefix "Land." Verily, verily, I say unto you, hearken unto me and read you that which is good. For the last two years and two months we have had dinned into our ears a lot of talk about "our" country, but even during that period we have read of desirable plots of freehold land being bought and sold. An interesting case of how "our" country is disposed of from time to time may be gathered from the following:

Mr. Harry Lauder has bought an estate of 14,000 acres, it was stated yesterday in Glasgow, on the east side of Loch Fyne, at Glenbranter, a place formerly linked with the name of the late Mr. David MacBrayne, Steamshipowner, Glasgow.

"Reynolds's," Oct. 15th, 1916.

There's war economy for you! Save your money

and lend it to your country, screech our masters and their hirelings to the workers, whose portion of the country is contained in a flower pot.

On another page of the same paper I notice that the question of war time economy was to be practised on the old people, whom our spiritual guides would describe as the Lord's poor. It reads:

The Walsall Guardians by a majority of one vote decided to substitute suet pudding and treacle for the Christmas plum puddings in the workhouse. Alderman Bull said the workhouse master expected to save £15 to £20. Mr. Carter, another member, said the action was contemptibly mean.

It would indeed be interesting to learn whether these paragons of economy contemplate sitting down at the Christmas season to similar fare. Precept and practice are so vastly different, you know.

With a desire to try and get a further lease of life and to regain their hold over the masses the Church has inaugurated a National Mission of Repentance and Hope. Sky pilots from far and near are busily engaged telling us how the war is uniting high and low, rich and poor, in short, how it is attempting to bridge the chasm between classes. And that after the war capital and labour must cease fighting each other and work for each other's good. The Bishop of London himself says: "If it is shown to us by the Spirit of God that we must alter the whole system I can promise we are ready to do it. If there is anything in our position, houses, incomes, in our motors, in anything we have then that thing has got to be scrapped." Our well-paid bachelor Bishop might as a preliminary make a start by following his Lord and Master a little more closely. For I read that the "Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." This 20th century discipline, however, is more fortunately placed than He who said: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." But stay, the Bishop says "if it is shown to us 'by the Spirit of God' that we must alter the whole system . . . we are ready to do it." Feeling the vast epoch that has elapsed since the statement with regard to taking up the cross was made, methinks it will be "some" time yet ere these gentlemen who have waxed fat on the cross will be able to discover "by the Spirit of God" whether they are to abandon pelf, place and power.

This Right Rev. Father in God, speaking at Victoria Park, made reference to a desire for a better state of morals in London, and said "we mean to have a . . . cleaner London for the boys when they come home from the trenches and the North Sea." The pearl of greatest price is found in the following:

It is the working-class daughter that I am trying to save by my campaign in West London. Why should they beat the mercy of the lusts of mankind? The fault is largely in the home teaching.

It would be more correct to say that they were at the mercy of the wealthy class in society. Has this shining light and supporter of capitalism never heard, or has he forgotten, the Queenie Gerald case with its sordid story of obtaining girls for wealthy patrons? We have no recollection of the Bishop at that time speaking outside St. James', Piccadilly, pointing the moral and adorning the tale of the cadet who wrote asking for a virgin and offering a respectable sum for the privilege. Yet, forsooth, he wants to save the working-class daughters. It will be within the recollection of many that when the defendant in this case was conveyed to the police station a large sum of money was found in her possession, also valuable jewellery, which went to show the nature of her patrons. The Bishop would be better employed in prosecuting his "purity" campaign in fashionable churches rather than in a public park in the East End; and working-class parents might profitably consider the cause of, and remedy for, prostitution.

I might in passing just note for the benefit of my clerical friends and others, who so often refer to the waywardness of mankind across the seas, that in a recent issue of a weekly

capitalist paper there was an announcement to the following effect: "Nearly 500 cases, mostly divorce, will occupy the attention of the Judges in the Probate and Divorce Division during the Michaelmas Sittings . . . Of this number 376 are undefended matrimonial suits." Who said Socialism would break up the home life?

Reverting to the subject-matter of an article in last month's issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD. The nonsensical statement attributed to Jaures, that,

Without nations there could be no internationalism. One is not surprised to see that statement, repeated by Dan Irving in the Burnley "Pioneer." One fool makes many, and the time-servers of the master class who pose as Socialists, must indeed be conscious of their own fraudulent position, when reduced to such puerile phrases in order to justify their support of capitalist anarchy.

How feeble is the labour leaders' conception of Internationalism, is seen in their denunciations of the Social Democrats of Germany. Every capitalist rag in England—and no doubt in all the allied countries—has boasted the fact that even the Socialists recognised the justice of their cause and were forsaking the class war, or suspending it, while national interests were at stake. The German Socialists excused their lapse from Internationalism—if they ever understood it—with the fear of a Russian invasion. Their prototypes in the allied countries took up their masters' cry of German militarism and from the first called upon the workers to take up arms and crush it. Whatever land the fakirs hail from, there is no difference or distinction between them; they are all tools of the ruling caste and have no cause to sling mud at each other, as the allied Socialists do at their German comrades in fraud. One in particular saying

the German Socialists must wash the blood off their hands with tears of remorse, and even then they would have to take a back seat in international movements.

THE SCOUT.

SOCIALISM STILL INTERNATIONAL.

In an editorial in the "Daily Chronicle" of October 4th appeared the following:

Nothing in this war of revelations and revolutions has astonished the world more than the failure of all forms of internationalism to be international. Christianity, Socialism, civilisation have all become as distinctively national as the several belligerent armies themselves, and in Germany they fight for the Zeppelins and in England against them. Nationalism appears to be the master virtue of the day to which all others have to conform.

This, of course, as regards Socialism, is a deliberate lie. The truth is that the very essence of Socialism is internationalism. Christianity never has been, never even has pretended to be, international—that is, based on the unity of interests of all nations; it is not even, and never has been, based on the unity of interests of all Christians. More than that, it is not based on so broad a base even as the unity of interests of all the Christians of a given country. Far indeed from being a form of internationalism, it is too narrow, too mean, too wretched, and too sordid to be even truly national. Its pulse beats for no nation, but only for the capitalist element of the nation.

Socialism, on the other hand, has remained international, as it must ever do. That which passes with our masters' hireling Press for Socialism, and which they assert to have failed to be international, is not Socialism at all. We, years before the war broke out, denounced the so-called Socialist International for what it was, and events have simply proved us correct.

The very fact that the International Labour and Socialist movement, so-called, was split asunder by the first trumpet-call to defend national interests, reveals the fact it was built on the shifting sands of ignorance and compromise. Had it been reared on Socialist principles, grounded in science and unswerving in purpose, capitalist battle-cries, entreaties and arguments would have been met with derision and scorn. J.

CONSCRIPTION CONTINUED.

When dealing with the scheme known as the "Derby Group System" in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD some months back it was pointed out that the capitalist class were being pushed on to the horns of a dilemma in the endeavour to find men for the Army. This simple truth is now being demonstrated by two prominent incidents. One is the threat of raising the age for military service to 45 years, though even the "Daily Mail" admits that the army does not want men of this age; and the other is the cry to extend conscription to Ireland.

On the former point it is significant to note that though Mr. Asquith has stated that an army of over 5,000,000 men has been raised by the "voluntary" method, no statement has been issued of the number of men the Conscription Act has brought in. With the single men this might be accounted for by the miserably small number that was available after the "voluntary" system was closed. The later application of the Act to married men does not seem to have brought much of a result if the official silence is any guide. The scandal of the medical "examinations" is a further point showing how few fit men were really available.

Now we are told that there must be a "combing out" of the various munition and other factories to obtain the young men, while the fact that the "combing" process has been steadily, if quietly, carried on for months is coolly ignored. The result here, if munition work is to be carried on at its present pressure, will be exceedingly small.

It is in this dilemma that the turn is made to Ireland. This looks surprisingly hopeful. For generations Ireland has been a nation of women, children and old people. The young, vigorous manhood has been compelled to emigrate because of the impossibility of obtaining a livelihood in Ireland.

With a population, at the last census, of about 4,300,000 in the whole country; with an unduly large proportion of this number consisting of non-military material; with over 150,000 of its manhood already in the Army, we can see what a rich reservoir is here to make up what is so sweetly termed "the wastage."

The difficulties already existing in Ireland, coupled with the feelings engendered by the ruthless use of the military both during and since the futile "rebellion," would seem to make the game scarcely worth the candle. But, apparently, there are other reasons at work, and if one may take certain indications, it has already been decided to apply conscription there. The "Daily Mail" howls for it. The Nationalist Party howls against it. In such a situation the position of a third section is a useful guide.

When conscription was being brought forward as "practical politics" in Great Britain the "Daily Chronicle" claimed it would never be applied here. For answer to this, as Sir Christopher Wren says in another connection, "look around." Now the same paper states it is estimated that 150,000 men could be obtained from Ireland, which "is a very respectable total." But it goes on to state "No man with any real knowledge of Ireland or any experience of its government would ever dream of applying conscription to that country," and later on we are told "Even were it carried . . . it could never be worked" ("Daily Chronicle," 14.10.1916.) In the light of previous experience this looks ominous—for Ireland. It looks as though the "deal" has already been arranged and the shrieking of the Nationalists and the "never" of the "Daily Chronicle" are mere window dressing exhibitions preparatory to the complete swallowing of the pill.

To complete the parallel it is suggested that a "Derby Scheme" be started in Ireland. This, of course, would be a "failure" just as it was here. Indeed, many complaints have already been made that Irishmen, joining the army on purpose to enter Irish regiments, have been placed in English, Scotch or Welsh regiments much against their will. Then the authorities complain that "Irishmen are not filling up the Irish regiments!"

When the proposed "Derby Scheme" has

"failed" sufficiently this "failure" will be used as one of the reasons for conscription as it was here. Just as Asquith deceived and swindled the workers here with his "promises" and "pledges" so the Irish workers will be swindled by Redmond and Carson.

While the results in men would be small, relative to the supposed requirements of the Army, the effect would be, practically, to impose martial law in Ireland as in reality it already exists here, though not in official terms. This enables the ruling class to carry out their wishes ruthlessly and rapidly in any direction they desire while apparently observing the usual constitutional forms. That it "never could be worked," as the "Daily Chronicle" states, is mere nonsense, for though forceful resistance might hinder and bother the authorities for a short time, ultimately it would be quite futile as the last experience of this method has shown.

Not until the working class in Ireland clearly grip the essential fact that they are slaves to the master class no matter what nationality these latter may be; fully realise that such slavery is confined within no national boundary but is world wide; throw off the mental shackles of either "nationalism" or "religion," and join hands with their fellow workers the world over to abolish capitalism—the cause of modern wars—not until then will they be free from oppression and tyranny and be able to enjoy the results of their efforts applied to Nature's resources. J. F.

RETROSPECTIVE.

While politicians and newspaper scribes are foaming at the mouth over the "rights of small nations" and "our national liabilities"—to say nothing of "our" army, "our" navy, "our" allies, etc., etc., *ad absurdum*—the present writer took it into his proletarian head to delve among his books and cuttings relating to past history in order to find out something about the above-mentioned mysterious things. Hereunder you will find set out "All the Harvest that I reaped."

Let us take a mental tour of the world and witness some of the doings of the British Empire (the apostle of freedom) during the last fifty years or so, and examine some of the benefits that have accrued to those who have had the good fortune (!) to be born within its pale.

We will commence with Africa, the land opened up by the Holy Trinity: Bible, Whisky, and Gunpowder.

In 1852 the control of the British Government in South Africa was limited to Natal and Cape Colony, while the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic were in the hands of Dutch settlers. The most powerful native tribe in South Africa was the Zulu nation, under their chief Cetewayo, whose territories bordered Natal. Cetewayo and the Transvaal Republic quarrelled over a certain strip of land and the matter was referred to England (with whom Cetewayo was on the most friendly terms) for arbitration. Four English arbitrators decided that the disputed strip of territory properly belonged to the Zulu nation. Yet in spite of this the English Lord High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, kept back the award for several months. This aroused Cetewayo's suspicions and convinced him that his territory was going to be annexed and he himself sent to prison, as had already happened in the case of Langalibalele in 1864. Eventually Bartle Frere announced the award to Cetewayo, accompanied with an ultimatum that the Zulu army must be disbanded. This was immediately followed by the invasion of Zululand, when the English troops were completely defeated! (Jan. 22nd, 1879.) In the end, however, the Zulus were vanquished, Cetewayo transported, and the territory divided up. Thus were the "sacred rights" of a small and trusting nation safeguarded. The whole matter in detail will be found in Justin McCarthy's "Short History of Our Own Times," p. 427.

The desire of English capitalists to obtain possession of the rich gold and diamond mines of the Transvaal and their attempted annexation of the Republic's territory led to the war which

culminated in the victory of the Boers at Majuba Hill in 1883.

As the riches of the Transvaal in gold and diamonds became known to the world swarms of adventurers began to invade it and claim full citizenship of the Republic on entry—a claim which the Boers would not grant. The Chartered Company (founded in Cape Colony by Cecil Rhodes) wanted a finger in the pie, and one of their officials, Dr. Jameson (now Sir Starr Jameson, a man of great respectability!) attempted a raid on the Transvaal which was a failure. No doubt a good many readers will recall the famous trail of a few years ago, when Von Veltheim, adventurer and sometime member of the Cape Mounted Police, was convicted of the attempted blackmail of the Joels. In this case interesting sidelights were thrown on the attempt to provoke war between England and the Transvaal on behalf of the diamond and gold magnates of South Africa.

Perhaps a quotation from Justin McCarthy would be useful at this point:

The discovery of the gold mines had brought into South Africa a rush of adventurous immigrants from various parts of the world, especially from England and from British territories, whose principal object was to make themselves the absolute rulers of all that vast tract of country which was teeming with limitless sources of wealth. The established republics were not strong enough to secure themselves against the internal disturbances to be expected from such an invasion. The invaders may not have had in the beginning any intention or desire to make themselves the rulers of the whole region, yet it soon became evident that they would endeavour to sweep away from their path any obstacles the existing systems might set up. The rulers and people of the Transvaal Republic were determined so far as they could to manage their State according to their own ideas. The newcomers were equally determined to secure a free way for the promotion of the principal objects they had in view when they sought for settlement in South Africa.—(P. 538.)

Such was the material out of which the Boer War arose, resulting in the defeat of the Boers and the triumph of the British capitalists, who immediately proceeded to exploit the rich regions gained with, as I will soon show, disastrous results to the workers. Thus were another small nation's liberties—defended!

In July 1913 a strike broke out in the Rand Goldfields (part of the region Jameson was knighted for trying to pinch). For many years native labour had been recruited for the mines by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and the British South African Native Labour Recruiting Corporation at the rate of about 6,000 per month, and, being cheaper and more easily obtained than white men, the natives were gradually displacing the latter. The strike was chiefly for the eight hours day, better underground conditions, and the restriction of the introduction of native labour.

In the House of Assembly (South Africa), May 28, 1913, the Minister of Mines gave the following figures:

During the ten years ended December 31, 1912, 0 those employed in Transvaal mines 52,205 native died and 16,556 were killed or injured in accidents Between 1907 and 1912 32,103 natives were sent home unfit for work. In 1900 6,900 men died at mines of pulmonary disease alone. . . . No less than 10,000 people die in these mines every year—men in the prime of health.

Well, the miners struck and the following is a report culled from the columns of the "Morning News and Leader" (11.8.13) as to the result:

A prominent business man of Johannesburg, writing to Mr. Joseph Fels, gives a graphic description of the terrible happenings there during the recent conflict between the military and the civil population.

He tells how the police and soldiers rushed a peaceful meeting of strikers, bludgeoning and batoning all and sundry. . . .

Though there were miles of plate glass-fronted shops to loot, very little damage was done, although at this time the crowd had complete control!

On Saturday, in the Rand Club in the afternoon some members were jeering at the crowd, when about 25 of them "rushed" the building. Fifteen to twenty soldiers formed at the junction of two streets, facing four ways, and fired for 14 hours intermittently. Everyone who attempted to cross the road was shot. Men were shot down who were merely trying to get away. Two children (one of twelve and the other younger) were shot whilst standing on the side walk. One poor fellow, in a spirit of bravado, stepped into the road and dared them to shoot. He was dead before he had finished

speaking. The correspondent adds that an advocate of the Supreme Court told him that he watched three men shot as they were running away. A young man who was sauntering along with his hands in his pockets towards the line of fire was shouted to by the police to go back again. When nearly out of danger he stopped and looked at the soldiers and was shot dead.

A portion of the crowd who were peering round the corner at the soldiers, bulged into the street, and the soldiers fired into the thick of them, killing one man and wounding two others.

It is insisted that there was no more danger in the watching crowd than in a "parcel of school children," as the unruly element had gone. Sixteen were killed, 150 wounded were treated in the hospitals besides scores who were treated by their own doctors.

Other figures give the killed as 20.

By 1914 the capitalists, who had originally the control of the diamond and gold mines only, had become the owners of nearly all the land in the Transvaal as well, so that the early fears of the Dutch farmers were justified by the passing years. A writer in the "News and Leader" of 31.3.14 made the following statements on the position in South Africa:

There are five companies, euphonicly termed "Land and Exploration" companies, which between them own over thirteen million acres, mostly in the Transvaal. The biggest has a four and a half million, the smallest a paltry million, acreage. There are fifteen other companies, each of which has an acreage running into six figures, and seven with areas of tens of thousands of acres. All told these twenty-seven companies own seventeen and a half million acres, or 23 per cent. of the Transvaal.

The land these companies possess is the very best in the country.

These "land and exploration" companies were generally floated in the first instance to secure mining rights over very large areas. Thus one company has coal rights over 201 square miles, and possesses in addition a township site.

The writer concludes as follows:

The fate of South Africa, then, lies still in the hands of a clever, far-sighted, not too scrupulous coterie of financiers, who have now drawn into their web the farming (and this in Africa means the land-owning) community.

Now in view of the above perhaps the working-class reader will commence to wonder what 20,000 of his class laid down their lives for on the yellow South African veldt—and perhaps he will carry parallel reasoning to the existing case, where his fellows are pouring their blood out on the Continent.

Before leaving Africa to continue our personally-conducted tour we will just notice a further article relating to South Africa which appeared in the "News and Leader" for 26.7.13.

It appears that the Chartered Company (founded by Cecil Rhodes) proposed leasing to an international company one million acres in Rhodesia (that's a decent chunk of "our" Empire to give away!) and the writer waxes somewhat indignant on the matter. He says:

These grants of land are far too common in the British Empire. They are made too readily, and with much too little regard for native interests.

The prevalent land-owning custom in Europe is private ownership. In Africa it is communal ownership. Therefore, if we hand over great tracts of this territory to private owners and to use private owners proceed to exact rents or grazing dues, the African native does not regard that as a normal economic development. He regards it as an act of aggression, of conquest—an arbitrary charge wrung from him in bitterness, and leaving behind a deep sense of injury. That resentment has been the cause of most of the African wars and rebellions since the first presence of the white man in Africa.

Take this great concession in the country of the Chartered Company. The company assert that the black population in that territory is thin. But there is a considerable population—perhaps some hundred thousand or so human beings—especially as the concession allows the new company to choose selected areas throughout Rhodesia. What would be the use of the concession to the new company—a company for extracting the essence of oxen and delivering it to the invalids of Europe—if they do not possess power both over the cattle and over the labour of the country which is handed over to them? Plainly if they are going to pay one shilling an acre for this land they will expect to possess powers of this kind. In other words, the Chartered Company is not merely leasing the territory: it is selling the people.

Such has been the fate of small nations in South Africa under the British Empire.

GILMAC.

(To be Continued.)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

192, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spence-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec. 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 295 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

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MANCHESTER.—Mrs. McCarthy, Sec., 198 Horton-rd Moss Side, Manchester.

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PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sundays at 10.30 a.m. at Eltingtons, 34 Peckham Rye. Discussion after.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southend-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of production and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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LONDON, DECEMBER, 1916

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE DECAY OF CAPITALISM.

WHAT MACHINERY MEANS FOR THE SYSTEM.

There is nothing to which the average man-in-the street appears so deplorably blind as the ever-increasing evidence of the rapid decay of the present system of society. In the agricultural labourer of the countryside this is more excusable, but for those always in contact with the symptoms of this decay, those whose labour takes them into workshop, factory, or business house, the charge carries double force.

The increasing introduction of machinery in the factory and workshop, and of mechanical appliances in the office, suggests to a working man rather the power and immensity of capitalism than its increasing inability to adapt itself to such rapidly changing conditions.

The great influx of machinery into industry is not the only evidence we have of the receding wave of capitalist supremacy. The growth of the modern trust, slowly crushing out that backbone of the "middle class," the small shop-keeper, is significant. The introduction of "profit-sharing" and co-partnership schemes, though blessed by the master class as a tricky method of extorting more wealth from the wage-slaves under the guise of bettering their conditions, are further proof of the strangle-hold that is being applied to this damnable system of society.

However, the present writer is not so much concerned with these latter illusions as with the growing insecurity of the working class, due to the astonishing rapidity of modern production as a sequence to the introduction of new, and improvements in existing, machinery.

Some not versed in Socialist philosophy might assume that the instability of the working class must presuppose the increased stability of the master class, but this is not true. Financially, of course, the position of the master class would be strengthened, but economically the reverse is the case.

In the various countries during the last 16 years considerably over 200,000 patents have been sealed. The effect of this remarkable mass of improvements in appliances, mostly tending to displace labour, can better be imagined than described. One authority, Chas. R. Gibson, F.R.S.E., has compiled a book ("Twentieth Century Inventions.") upon information supplied by inventors and engineering firms, in which he outlines many interesting facts. From information elicited from Messrs. Hattersley, of Keighley, regarding re-shuttling looms, some fairly firm conclusions may be made. Listen to this:

One of these modern looms will not only stop when its warp thread is broken or exhausted, but it will throw out the empty shuttle, replace it with a full one, and restart the loom, the whole operation only taking a few seconds. Not only is this loom quite independent of the weaver watching its shuttles, but it must also look after its own warp in so far that it must not go on weaving while any warp threads remain broken.

All, therefore, that remains for the female weaver to do is the mending of the broken warp ends—the loom meanwhile at work with a new shuttle—and the filling of the magazines with new shuttles to keep the looms continually at work. Mr. Gibson says concerning a further invention (the automatic loom, differing somewhat from the re-shuttling device):

As evidence of the reliability of such automatic mechanism it may be mentioned that while the weavers are absent during meal hours the looms continue weaving on their own account. In many factories, with the ordinary looms, it is a source of worry to see that all weavers are clear of the looms during meal hours, for no worker may mend a broken end or replace an empty shuttle at these times. With these automatic looms the weavers may leave them at work when they go home to breakfast, and about seventy per cent. of the looms will be found at work on the weavers' return an hour later. Those looms that have stopped will be waiting for some warp threads to be mended.

What the position of the weaver will be upon the not unlikely introduction of a warp-mending device can pretty well be guessed.

Since the coming of Crompton's "mule" the history of the cotton trade has been one long story of labour displacement, and if records could be obtained of the number of operatives thrown out of employment during the past fifteen years the total would indeed be staggering. Yet what we witness taking place in Lancashire and Yorkshire is merely what is happening in every branch of industry. Machinery supplanting labour-power is certainly no new thing, but the impetus it has received during recent years has been great.

There is a biscuit-making firm in London who have installed an elaborate appliance for the simple function of dropping three currants into "fairy" cakes. If at any time four currants are found on one cake there is a row, for the danger of permitting the consumer to make a beast of himself must at all costs be guarded against.

The automatic telephone invented by an American named Strowger is a clear indication of what is coming. Mr. Gibson says of it:

In the Automatic Exchanges there are, of course, no operators at all; there are only mechanical selectors and connectors, which are under the control of the individual subscribers. Instead of a subscriber giving instructions to an operator the subscriber himself moves a lever on a dial attached to his telephone, and the automatons at the Exchange do the rest.

Nor is this all, for more subscribers are able to speak simultaneously than has been possible with the manual Exchange. The automatic charge boxes in connection with the automatic exchange, too, are of remarkable ingenuity, charging only time spent and "handing" back any coins above those demanded. The coins fall as the distant speaker replaces his telephone upon the hook.

The newer type of match-making machine used by Messrs. Bryant and May is another example of labour-cutting. Imagine blocks of pine accepted at one end of the machine, cut into sticks, dipped, dried, boxed, and wrapped in dozens all ready for despatch "in so human a fashion as to be almost uncanny." One machine turns out 144,000 boxes per day.

Not alone in the factory, but throughout every department we see man superseded by the machine, from the automatic time-keeper to the newer type of lightning calculator. Those among the "middle" class who have long basked in comparatively soft jobs are beginning to feel a draught. The German automatic hide-measurer is going to prove a bitter pill for the civil engineer. This machine will calculate the exact measurement in square inches of a hundred hides while an expert civil engineer is calculating half-a-dozen such. All holes the hides may contain are allowed for by the machine. Mr. Gibson tells us that some machines measure 3,000 to 4,000 skins per working day. Such a slashing attack upon those whose delight it seems to be to ape their masters will cause as much fright as did the suggestion that women should dispense "chloroform" from the pulpit.

To realise the astonishing effect the rapid introduction of machinery brings about we have but to consider the millions of men engaged in the present gigantic war, who could only have been taken from industry in circumstances that prove conclusively the insecurity of their livelihood consequent upon enormous increases in mechanical production. The present writer was given some details a couple of years back of a new lightning post-card printing machine about to be introduced in America, capable of printing upwards of 500,000 post-cards per hour. Regarding this appliance Mr. Gibson says:

The cards are cut automatically by the machine, and then dropped in eight stacks until there are twenty-five post-cards in each pile. The eight stacks then move forward and are bound automatically with a paper band and the finished packets are dropped into a box.

In printing, the introduction of the Monotype and Linotype machines and the Harris Automatic Press is perhaps sufficiently known to require no further mention. Speaking of the Harris Press, however, Mr. Gibson says:

When once set up ready for printing, any intelligent boy may attend to the machine, which is quite capable of taking care of itself so long as it has a stock of paper within its reach.

And yet despite all this we have the amusing spectacle of Direct-Actionists still following their blind-alley schemes of the great strike, while each succeeding year finds the master more independent of his wage-slaves. The further capitalist society develops the more clearly does the remedy—control of the political machine for the purpose of seizing the masters' only weapon—

we see here, the whole of the great mass at present fighting might in "peace" times absent themselves from production without seriously affecting the stability of capitalist domination.

There is much evidence to prove, however, at the working class are gradually recognising the futility of knocking their heads against a brick wall. The scaling ladders of the Marxian philosophy are ready when the workers are fit to use them. And as Marx and Engels say in the Manifesto:

The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet, the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Those who know, and acknowledge, the remarkable accuracy of Karl Marx's reasonings regarding the inevitable phases of capitalist decay already endured, and what they must certainly lead to, will accept such a deduction because, not only does it meet with the approval of their own intelligence, but the truth of it has already manifested itself throughout the civilised world in a way that no man can deny.

There is one solution and one only. The working class must take control of the political machine and use it in order to release themselves from the menace of capitalism. All the enormous mass of machinery now operating against our class will then be used to lighten the labour of all men, irrespective of race or colour, instead of to further enrich a class already choking itself with its own fat.

Socialism, therefore, is the only remedy, and only through Socialism can working-class freedom be achieved. Take heart, therefore, ye who by arduous toil create all riches, for, by and through these many inventions which make your lot harder to-day, to-morrow shall your poverty, misery, and degradation be banished never to return. B. B. B.

RETROSPECTIVE.

INDIA.

Early in the 17th century, at the time when the mammoth trading companies (or bands of adventurers) were being formed to exploit territories hitherto untouched, the rich natural wealth of India began to draw the attention of western traders. An English East India Co. and, later, a French East India Co., were formed, both of which proceeded to steal as much of India as possible from the natives. Then, when they had each collared so much that they could hardly get more without encroaching on each other's territory, the inevitable scrap ensued, and our valiant champion of small nationalities (evidently France had not yet been "saved") was victorious, and the greater part of India was annexed to "our" Empire.

The native population of India at the time of the European incursion was under what is known as the Patriarchal form of society. Now Patriarchal society is founded on the blood relationship of those who reside together in the groups or village communes, and is exclusive, communal, and non-competitive. The attitude of the natives toward European intruders may therefore be guessed. The following quotation from that excellent little work, "A Short History of Politics," by Prof. Jenks (p. 20), is suggestive:

To a community in the Patriarchal stage, an Immigration Bureau would appear to be a monstrosity. To its members the immigrant is simply a thief, who comes to steal the pasture and the corn land; a heathen, who will introduce strange customs and worship.

The successive wars in India have been the result of the natives' resistance to the encroachments and innovations of the "Huns" of Europe, or, as our masters would say, "the pioneers of civilisation"! The natives have all along objected to that canker of society—civilisation (or syphilisation). Strange beings! Sheridan's speech in 1788 impeaching Warren Hastings (Governor-General of India and a high official of the East India Co.) gives abundant evidence of the way the natives were ruthlessly fleeced of their territory and treasure.

Some incidents leading up to the celebrated Indian Mutiny are summarised as follows by Justin McCarthy in his "Short History of Our Own Times" (p. 175):

Towards the close of 1847 Lord Dalhousie was sent out to India. . . . During his few years of office he annexed the Punjab, he incorporated part of the Burmese Territory in our dominions; he annexed Nagpore, Sattara, Jhansi, Berar and Oudh.

By the way, perhaps the reader will have noticed the terminology. When Jameson attempted to steal the Transvaal on behalf of the future Randlords, it was declared to be a daring and courageous coup on behalf of the downtrodden "Uitlander" colonists. When Lord Dalhousie, on behalf of the European exploiters of India, stole from the natives provinces beside which Britain sinks into insignificance, he was performing a great, glorious, and justifiable "annexation." But when one of the modern "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (a mere common working man, spurred on by the sight of his haggard wife and starving children, steals a loaf of bread, he is a damned low sneak-thief. Reader, treasure these facts.

But to continue the quotation:

The population of India became stricken with alarm as they saw their native princes thus successively dethroned. The subversion of thrones, the annexation of states, seemed to them naturally enough to form part of that vast scheme for rooting out all the religions and systems of India, concerning which so many vague forebodings had darkly warned the land.

The Mutiny resulted in practically the whole of India being incorporated in the British Empire. As to the benefits accruing to the fortunate people under British rule. Buckle, in that monument of industry and erudition, "The History of Civilisation in England," says of the inhabitants of India in 1857 (Vol. 1, p. 57):

In modern times, for which alone we have direct evidence, wages have in India always been excessively low, and the people have been, and still are, obliged to work for a sum barely sufficient to meet the exigencies of life.

To come, however, to later times, I may point out that the Report of the Inspector of Mines for 1908-9, page 56, stated that in India there were 6,461 children under 12 at work in the mines and that children of 4 were working 7 hours a day. Now throw out your chests, ye props of Britain's pride!

The following extract from "The Daily News and Leader" (25.6.13) of a happening in Oudh will further assist the chest-puffing process:

In February of last year three natives were tried by the sessions judge of Sitapur for murder, and all were acquitted on the ground that the evidence was not to be believed. Five months later the men were re-arrested at the instance of the Lieutenant-Governor, were tried again on exactly the same evidence, were convicted and sentenced, two to be hung, which penalty has been inflicted, and the third to be transported.

It is supposed to be a fundamental law of the English judicial code that no individual can be tried a second time on a charge of murder after having been acquitted the first time. But, of course, the above were only "niggers," though members of our great and glorious Empire (and of a small nationality to wit!!)

On a par with this was the well known case of Denshawai, in which an affray occurred between some military officers out on a shooting expedition and some ignorant villagers, wherein one of the villagers, a woman, was shot. The "Daily News" (24.8.07) commented on the case as follows:

Denshawai will always be a name of terrible memories. . . . We suspect that every man who had any share in the transaction of these fatal days of June '06 would give a good deal to forget them. Most Englishmen who read the story of the tragedy and the comments of Lord Cromer can imagine the emotions of a character on the Greek stage when confronted with the consequences of the moment of a hideous infatuation. The trial, the sentences, the punishments inflicted on a great public theatre of revenge, they all revolt and horrify us. . . . The bare record makes the name of Denshawai terrible.

A letter also appeared in "The Nation" of the same date from Frederic Macharness, M.P., which ran as follows:

The abnormal tribunal which sentenced these villagers claimed to administer any law it chose, and to inflict any punishment it thought fit. It

consisted of five officials, presided over by a Minister utterly devoid of judicial experience. It passed its terrific sentences on a Wednesday and carried them out on the following Saturday. It was actually contended by the prosecuting counsel that the court was so unfettered by civil laws that it might find the villagers guilty of murder even without premeditation.

The affray took place on June 13th; by special decree a court violating every law of the country was constituted; it sat on June 24th, came to sweeping conclusions on June 27th, and its sentences were executed three days later. Within that period of six days, fifty-nine persons, practically the entire male population of a village, were sought out, cross examined, arrested and tried: four were hung, one—the husband of the woman who had been shot in the affray—was sentenced to penal servitude for life, a number of other heavy sentences were imposed and 400 lashes were distributed publicly between the hangings.

On July 5th Mr. Dillon questioned Sir Edward Grey in regard to the executions, receiving an answer to the effect that the trial had been properly carried out. Later Sir Edward Grey pledged himself that the newspaper reports were incorrect, although as a matter of fact none of them had dared to state the facts in their full horror.

Such are the blessings conferred upon the natives of India by British rule!

Before leaving India let us turn our attention to the circular sent round by Lord Roberts to the commanding officers in India (which we have on several occasions quoted in our columns) instructing them to scour the villages and obtain native female children from 13 years of age upwards to be used in the military brothels. And this on behalf of a country that is howling about "Huns" and German "Kulture"! Oh the damned hypocrisy of modern Governments! Gentle reader, bear with me, but before continuing our tour I cannot refrain from again reminding you that this war is alleged to be waged by Great Britain on behalf of small nationalities!

CHINA.

We will now pursue our journey to China, the celebrated land of "suspended animation." Until the recent introduction of European machinery and methods China was organised on the village community system, and consequently, for reasons already given, was exclusive and objected to all forms of foreign interference.

Now to industrial countries, and especially to the premier manufacturing country, England, here was splendid virgin soil upon which to dump their surplus goods, if only the opportunity could be found of exploiting it. American traders and the East India Co. gradually insinuated themselves into the country and a thriving trade commenced.

The principal article the East India Co. dealt in was opium, which they grew in India and sold in China. When, in 1834 this company's exclusive privileges ceased, private traders took up the sale of opium, which they bought off the company.

Educated opinion in China adverse to the consumption of opium as being detrimental to the prosperity of the Chinese nation steadily grew, eventually culminating in laws passed by the Chinese Government strictly prohibiting the traffic in opium. Under cover, however, of an agreement with the Chinese Government for the existence of establishments to carry on general trade in Canton and Macao, our honest English traders smuggled in large quantities of the forbidden drug, in which they did a very profitable trade.

The British Government sent out superintendents to manage commercial dealings with China, but the effect of their presence was to protect the opium trade and force on China political relations with the West. The superintendents did not attempt to aid the Chinese authorities in stopping the opium smuggling. The Chinese Government then took the matter into their own hands with the following result as summarised by Justin McCarthy ("Short History of Our Own Times," p. 27):

When the Chinese authorities actually proceeded to insist on the forfeiture of an immense amount of opium in the hands of British traders, and took other harsh, but certainly not unnatural measures to extinguish the traffic, Captain Elliot, the Chief Superintendent, sent to the Governor of India a request for as many ships of war as could be spared for the protection of life and property of Englishmen in China. Before long British ships arrived and the two countries were at war.

The Chinese were, of course, worsted in the war and compelled to come to terms, the "swag" obtained by England being as follows:

The Island of Hong-Kong ceded in perpetuity; Five ports: Canton, Amoy, Foo-Chow-Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, thrown open to British trade and Consuls established there.

In addition to the above China had to pay a war indemnity of four and a half million pounds and, the crowning piece of impudence and injustice, a further indemnity of one and a quarter millions in respect of the smuggled opium they had destroyed.

Justin McCarthy makes the following comment upon this war (p. 25):

Reduced to plain words, the principle for which we fought in the China War was the right of Great Britain to force a peculiar trade upon a foreign people in spite of the protestations of the Government and all such public opinion as there was of the nation.

In 1856 further trouble broke out with China. (The war above referred to occurred in 1842.)

The treaty of 1843 stipulated that the Chinese authorities could not seize Chinese offenders on board an English vessel. On October 8th, 1856 a party of Chinese accompanied by an officer removed twelve men off the Arrow, a vessel lying in the Canton River, on a charge of piracy. The vessel was declared by its owners to be a British vessel when, as a matter of fact, it was a Chinese vessel which had obtained temporary possession of a British flag by false pretences. The Chinese governor contended that the vessel was a Chinese pirate. The British consul, however, demanded the instant restoration of the captured men, and sent to Sir John Bowring (British plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong) for assistance in the matter.

He [Sir John Bowring] ordered the Chinese authorities to surrender all the men taken from the "Arrow," and he insisted that an apology should be offered for their arrest, and a formal pledge given by the Chinese authorities that no such act should ever be committed again. If this were not done within 48 hours naval operations were to be begun against all the men, and undertook to promise that for the future great care should be taken that no British ship should be visited improperly by Chinese officers. But he could not offer an apology for the particular case "Arrow," for he still maintained, as was indeed the fact, that the "Arrow" was a Chinese vessel, and that the English had nothing to do with her. Accordingly Sir John Bowring carried out his threat, and had Canton bombarded by the fleet which Admiral Sir Michael Seymour commanded. From October 23rd to November 13th naval and military operations were kept up continuously. ("Short History of Our Own Times," p. 105.)

The action of Sir John Bowring was subsequently endorsed by the British Government.

Thus was the isolation of China broken and a vast territory of the "Unchangeable East" opened up to the grasping hands of Western traders. At home in England the factory wheels spun away more merrily than ever, breaking their white slave attendants in mind and body, while the factory lords beamed with delight, piled up their bank balances, rubbed their hands together and talked of the disgraceful extortion of the landowners.

H. de B. Gibbins makes the following comment on the aftermath of these wars in his "Industrial History of England," p. 217:

The Chinese Wars of 1842 and 1857, regrettable as they were, established our commercial relations with the East generally upon a firm footing, and since then our trade with Eastern nations has largely developed.

The following extract from the "Morning News and Leader" (15.8.13) is an echo of the Opium War and, in view of what has been said above, may come as a shock to the working-class believers in this "liberty-loving" country. The note in question is headed "Opium Traffic. Attitude of British Government on Chinese Buying":

Mr. T. C. Taylor, the Liberal member for Radcliffe, asked the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons yesterday whether the Chinese Government had asked to be released from the obligation to purchase any further Indian opium.

Sir Edward Grey: The reply is in the affirmative. His Majesty's Government have not yet sent a reply to the Chinese Government, but we cannot agree to the proposal except as regards provinces where the production of native opium has ceased.

Mr. Taylor: Are we to understand that, whatever the sacrifices made by the Chinese Government, however many lives of their own people they take

is putting down the cultivation of opium, His Majesty's Government will go on compelling China for an indeterminate period to take opium from India?

Sir Edward Grey: That is not at all a fair inference from my answer. A fair inference would be that wherever China succeeds in suppressing the production of opium in any of her provinces, in regard to that part of the country we will at once withdraw any claim to import Indian opium.

In concluding this section, fellow workers, I would remark that we are fighting for the protection of small na— Damn! There I go again! GILMAC.

BY THE WAY.

Comment has from time to time been made in this journal of the causes leading to the disasters which occur on the railways of the United Kingdom. Such contributory causes being bad coal, which has meant an extra amount of oiling of the engine; overloading of the trains, and other such-like details which inevitably means an added strain on the driver and consequently greater risk of failure to observe the necessary signals. Yet in spite of the lessons of the past the Board of Trade omits to force the adoption of the necessary preventive measures on the companies, contenting itself with making recommendations to them, because, forsooth, some expenditure of money would be incurred by the shareholders, and profits might be reduced.

Having thus introduced this subject I notice that a report of a recent accident was dealt with in the Press. On this occasion the cause of the derailling of a goods train on the Glasgow and Paisley Joint Railway was being enquired into, and I observe the following observations:

Major Pringle draws attention to the fact that a boy of 16 was acting as fireman with the driver. The boy was intelligent, but it could hardly be expected that he would have the requisite knowledge of signals. Major Pringle attributed the accident, however, to the misreading of signals by the driver. —"Daily News," 10.11.1916.

Here we are again, no condemnation of the company or the Government (for has not the Government stateized the railways for the period of the war) for permitting the employment of a mere lad on such responsible work. Maybe the "coming-out" process has resulted in the "coming-out" of the ordinary fireman. And the driver has to watch signals, instruct "the boy" on feeding the fire, and take the blame when an accident occurs. 'Twas ever thus!

An event of some importance to the ruling class took place during the past month. I refer to the procession and banquet of the incoming Lord Mayor of London. Doubtless the tramp through the streets of a large number of the naval and military forces, together with a few relics captured from the "enemy," is to be regarded in the light of work of "national importance." After the procession, the banquet and the speeches. In this connection I notice that a few weeks previously mention was made that "Mr. Asquith has intimated that he will be pleased to attend the usual banquet, but he suggests that in view of war conditions it should be of a simple nature." —"Daily Mail," 4.10.16.

Perusing the newspaper the day following this announcement caught my eye:

War economy was observed by those who drew up the menu for the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall last night. . . . It was called a banquet for the sake of tradition; but as a matter of fact it was a very simple meal. A little turtle soup, fillet of sole, game done in the casserole, cold roast beef, salad, a jelly, and an ice—these were the items of the feast. —"Daily News," 10.11.1916.

And very nice too! as the wag might have added. We would not mind a few such "simple meals" ourselves. The economy campaign is a huge hypocrisy and only fit for simpletons.

One other reference to this matter would, perhaps, not be out of place. The "Daily News" writer of the 10th says, as above, that "War economy was observed," and "it was a very simple meal," while he flatly contradicts his confrere who, in an unguarded yet truthful moment, the day previously in the same paper, stated "There is really no reduction in the menu at to-day's Lord Mayor's Feast."

The readiness (?) to fight of those who have in the past been conspicuous on the recruiting stump cajoling others to step into the ring should now be patent to all who have eyes to see. One remembers how prominent a part the Trade Union officials have taken in this direction. Further light on this subject is to hand from a recent issue of the daily Press.

Another "deadly parallel":

In Great Britain the way is clear. Compulsion is the law of the land, and if the present Government dare not take the soldiers from military service at the country needs we must find another Government which will. . . . Ireland to her great detriment has been excluded from the law of compulsion. . . . And then into the midst of things comes that eminent "patriot," Mr. Redmond. . . . We have things of far greater import to consider than Mr. Redmond's position, and it is only the man's mischievous egoism that makes it necessary for a while to remember him. —"Blackwood's Magazine" (Musings Without Method) for November. Nov. 8. —"Daily News," 9.11.16.

So the business goes on: men may fight and die while editors and others sit at home in their armchairs and glibly talk about "men, more men, and still more men" for cannon fodder in order to crush Prussian Militarism, whilst militarism (British variety) is more firmly established here. One sometimes wonders how it is that those people who are forever clamouring for a more speedy prosecution of the war (possibly because they are over the age limit or have some form of exemption) do not understate their age and seek enlistment in order to give some substantial backing to the cause they devote so much lip-service to. Ay, there's the rub!

With the coming into operation of the Conscriptio Act one would have thought that those limelights who have sung aloud the praises of the so-called "voluntary" system of recruiting—that system of join up or be sacked, enlist and we will offer you a job when you return, attest or we will introduce compulsion—would at least have had the decency to crawl into their shells and stay there. But with some of them it appears to be a case of "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." A recent instance of this may be gathered from a report of a sermon by the Right Reverend the Bishop of London. I will quote the whole of it as it is in no wise lengthy:

The Bishop of London, preaching at St. Clement's, Fulham, declared that when one nation was determined on war God could not stop it, but He produced the next best thing—5,000,000 men in this country who voluntarily offered to fight for the rights of smaller nations. —"Daily Chronicle," 23.10.16.

Now I say without any hesitation that any man—Bishop or otherwise—who gives utterance to such piffle is either a fool or a liar. If he is not conversant with the facts of the case then he is the former for expressing any opinions on the subject; if he knows anything at all about the question, then he stamps himself as the latter for making the statement that "5,000,000 men . . . 'voluntarily' offered to fight." Perhaps this is what St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, calls lying for the glory of God. But even so it is somewhat rough on God; the Omnipotent could not stop war, says his earthly ambassador, but He produced the next best thing. Why, oh why, my lord Bishop, detract from the majesty of the Master? Why rob Him of the glory, praise and honour of a full and complete intervention on behalf of His children in this vale of tears? If He intervenes to the extent of producing the next best thing—"5,000,000 volunteers"—why not complete the business and thereby save the wretchedness and suffering of untold millions? No, we are aware that the age of miracles is past. They used to

(Concluded on p. 28.)

ounce of wealth. What Lord Wrenbury implies by risk is merely the attempt of the capitalist to overreach his competitors. Ten thousand capitalist failures affect the working class nothing. The markets they endeavoured to obtain have been gained by their competitors, by whom their wealth has been absorbed. However much capitalist prudes may prate of "honest and legitimate capital," they belie themselves when they brag of what they risk. Investment, for the capitalist, is a gamble, but a game of hazard played among themselves, with securities and and vouchers for counters, and the total wealth produced by the workers for the stakes. What can it matter to the working class who wins or loses? Their portion is that of the slave; their lot is to produce the wealth that forms the subject of capitalist gambling. No matter how the wealth is distributed among the gamblers, in its entirety it sticks to them. Then why does Lord Wrenbury prattle of "risk" to the workers, who constantly risk their only possession—life itself—to provide the wealth that he and his class share and enjoy?

"That there are two classes, capitalists and labourers, which are distinct and have interests antagonistic the one to the other is a complete fallacy," says the noodle lord. His elaborate and fantastical theory that the capitalist supplies "abstinence and risk" and the labourer "labour" has quite slipped his fickle memory. He writes to smooth away the real antagonism between "capital and labour"—first separating them according to what he supposes to be their functions, and proving, to his own satisfaction, that they are distinct, and then emphatically declaring that: "For every relevant purpose every labourer is a capitalist and every capitalist is a labourer." His absurd functional division is repugnant to common sense; his reconciliation of classes is antagonistic to it; and both are contrary to facts.

Lord Wrenbury, unlike the United States Senate, that legally declared that "labour" was not a commodity, would arrive at the same result by persuading every labourer that he is a capitalist, because he brings a commodity to the labour market for sale. In this he succeeds in firmly establishing the exact opposite of what he intends. He proves, unintentionally, it is true, that society is divided into capitalists with "funds," and labourers with nothing but their energy, which they must sell in order to live. His one class is, after all, two—and two classes with a fundamental relation itself antagonistic, that of buyer and seller.

The class antagonism that Lord Wrenbury tries to explain away is now easily understood. Labour-power is the one commodity his class must buy and the working class must sell. Strikes, lock-outs, trade union rules for the restriction of output, are the form that this antagonism between buyer and seller takes in capitalist society to-day. These evidences of fundamental opposition between the two classes are the bugbear of the ruling class. The intellectual literature of our period is coloured with its record and its plans for mitigation. Parliament, Press, and Church are concerned with nothing else. But class antagonism will not be stifled or explained away; ever, as capitalism develops, it becomes more acute, insistently demanding attention, and continually emphasising the basic errors of the capitalist system.

Lord Wrenbury writes as though he were giving to the world a chain of sociological paradoxes; but he omits to show the scientific truths that have undermined the previous hallucination and declared them to be paradoxical. His contribution to the "Business after the War" discussion is pitiful. I pity and leave him.

In this discussion there are few others worthy of notice. Repetition is common because the subject is barren; contradictions are numerous because class interest is the motive and scientific truth is ruled out at the commencement. All the writers claim that by abolishing rules for the restriction of output commodities would become cheaper and as a consequence the demand would increase, but they do not say whether or not the new demand would absorb the doubled or trebled production of commodities. Sir Trevor Dawson denounces "these rules and says: "Each man should be allowed to do his himself," yet in the same paragraph he

mentions that "There is too great a tendency on the part of works management to cutting of rates." Edwin Oliver ("Outlook," 23.9.16) says: "The only result of abolishing the regulations, therefore, would be to provide employment for fewer hands and to benefit none of them," while Dr. Garnett says: "There need be no fear of shortage of work, for the cheaper the product become the easier would it be to find a market. Along that road lies ability to expand our trade." Along all sorts of tortuous roads the would be economists plod searching for one ray of blessed light, one sound doctrine that can sanction their bestial and tottering system of class ownership of the means of life and enslavement of the working class.

The possessing class are just that because they possess the earth. Wherever there is a working class they are exploited and the results of their labour are transported across sea and land over the habitable globe. Every nation has its capitalist group seeking to expand their trade. They reached the boundaries and plunged into war, hoping to expand them at the expense of their competitors. The expansion of one means the contraction for others. The world's markets are sized up and catered for. Cheaper production can only have one meaning—less wages in return for a greater production of wealth, and a consequent shrinkage of demand and a world market glutted with wealth that everybody wants and nobody can buy.

Thus co-partnership, one suggested remedy, is self-condemned because it rests on cheaper production. State ownership of industrial concerns, because it does not change the relationship of classes, is equally futile. "Business after the War" means the anarchy of peace—a return to the problems the workers have shirked. In the struggle for existence that lies before them, intensified a hundredfold, those problems must be faced. The establishment of a sane and healthy system of society must be their "business (now and) after the war." F. F.

PRESS CLIPPINGS.

The following quotations and comments appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of Oct. 25th last in a review of "Portraits of the Seventies"—a new book by the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell.

Mr. Russell's veneration for Gladstone is well known, and by reason of it perhaps his occasional indications of disapproval for his great leader's attitude derive additional emphasis. At any rate the incident with which Mr. Russell closes his portrait of Archbishop Thompson seems decidedly significant:—"On the evening of May 2nd, 1882, I was at a party in Eaton Square, where Gladstone and Thompson were among my fellow-guests. As we entered the drawing-room the Archbishop turning to the Prime Minister with his most impressive air, said 'I want you to tell me about the State of Ireland.' Feeling, like most other people who were not wilfully blind, a profound misgiving about the unchecked reign of murderous outrage, I listened intently to the reply. 'The state of Ireland,' said Gladstone with eager emphasis, 'is very greatly improved. Rent is being generally paid.' " "Not a word," remarks Mr. Russell, "about human life, which, after all, is a more important thing than rent." Four days later came the Saturday of the Phoenix Park murders, "and the Irish difficulty," says Mr. Russell, "entered on the acute phase it has ever known."

While the above provides only another illustration of what is a commonplace among Socialists—the Mammon-soaked psychology of the masters' politicians—it may be enlightening to those numerous members of our class who still regard the hypocritical, Bible-bugging lick-spittle of the master class as the "grand old man" and democracy-loving friend of the workers.

The "Manchester Guardian" of Oct. 10th remarked that

"...the Home Office and the Ministry of Munitions are taking every possible step to investigate and deal with the new source of danger from T.N.T. poisoning. During the quarter ending Sept. 30th twenty-one deaths were reported from that cause."

How well the war-workers are doing! In addition to the splendid exercise of tending machines and boilers working almost at bursting

point, and enjoying the exhilarating excitement of making explosives in factories which blow up at the rate of one every few weeks, they even have chance of sampling the deadly stuff intended to send to a mythical paradise the Teuton fellow-slave who is also being fooled by his master.

At the first meeting of the British Manufacturers' Association, comprised of 700 firms employing over a million workers, Mr. George Terrell, M.P., who presided, said of trade unions, "No more remarkable change has occurred than our attitude to-day in connection with these unions. Many of us are saying 'Well, these union leaders are not such bad chaps after all'; they have dropped a lot of their Socialistic nonsense." ("Daily Mail," 26.10.16.)

Mr. Terrell is herewith informed that there exists no such thing as "Socialistic nonsense." Socialism is based upon sound reasoning and sense in all its aspects. If he really believes that Socialism is nonsense then his own sense is of a very doubtful variety, but of course it is also doubtful if he really does believe that. While resenting the implication that the "union leaders" he refers to have, or for the most part ever have had, anything to do with Socialism, I am truly delighted to find that the love felt by the capitalist class for those who have so long worked vigorously in their interests is at last finding OPEN expression.

Example (Advertisement from "Manchester Evening News," Nov. 9.16):—

EMPIRE, ARDWICK GREEN, MANCHESTER.
16.40. GREAT ATTRACTIONS. 8.50.
MR. BEN TILLET
in his thrilling oration,
"A Message from the Trenches."
How to Win the War.

In its issue for Oct. 31st the "Manchester Guardian" quoted the following from an article by Prof. Erich Jung, in the German paper "Alldeutsche Blätter":

The Chancellor has chosen for his representative a banker by profession (Dr. Helfferich) and even his second representative, too, comes from a merchant family. Further, all such men as Dalbrück and Seiwald and others who hold influential positions, such as Rathenau, Ballin, Goldberger, and others, all come from business and commercial families. Scarcely one of them belongs by origin or tradition to those quarters which have built the Prussian State in a labour of two hundred years. The Chancellor himself springs, both on his father's and his mother's side, from families which for many generations have carried on big banking businesses in Frankfurt-on-Main and Paris.

What about the feudal Junker land aristocracy who are (we are told) the rulers of Germany? As we have always maintained, it is Capital which dominates in Germany, and throughout the rest of the planet also.

The commercial struggle which would follow the war would be only second in magnitude to that of the war itself. They must make such preparation as would enable the English people to take the lead among their competitors, and, as this was again among their competitors, and, as this was a matter of life and death to a great industrial people, they must be ready to pay the premium that would ensure them success in the peaceful rivalry which was almost certain to come. He strongly advocated raising the age of compulsory education to fourteen and seventeen. (Lord Haldane at Leicester. "Manchester Evening News," Nov. 9.)

Capitalism is preparing for its last great struggle to install itself in even every waste place upon the earth, and is about to make us, its slaves, fit tools to carry out the work. We also have our scheme of education for a world-wide purpose. But the purpose is not the increase and spread of a robber system, but is the revolutionary one of annihilating that system. As capitalism enters upon its final phase—that of rampant imperialism—in which to disgorge its surpluses of wealth into the remaining but gradually extinguishing markets of the world, let us also hurry on with our work of bringing enlightenment, through proletarian science, to our class in every land, so that ere capitalism in its death-rattle hurls us into the abyss of barbarism we may joyfully hail—

"THE DAY."

R. W. HOUSLEY.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY.

III. ACTIONS.

The fundamental activities of society are economic; that is to say they are concerned with the production and appropriation of useful objects.

In primitive society production and appropriation were identical. The producers owned their own industrial implements and consequently needed no special act to convert their products into their own property. At the present day one class, the wage labourers, produce, but their products are appropriated by another class, the capitalists. There is, then, a distinction between two forms of economic action which we may style respectively *industrial actions* or acts of production and *legal actions* or acts of appropriation.

The reason for applying the term legal to the latter will soon become apparent. We have already seen (Article IV., Analysis of Wealth) that the appropriation of surplus-value by the capitalist class is only possible as a result of the existence of a non-property-owning class, and that this latter class was produced by acts of force on the part of individuals and of the State. Therefore the act of appropriation to-day is not merely a relation between property owners and property, but between individuals as purchasers and vendors of labour-power. When the capitalist appropriates surplus-value in the shape of commodities he also excludes the producer from such appropriation.

The mode of appropriation is not in harmony with the mode of production. Hence the antagonism between classes which calls forth a special form of action, warfare, either open or disguised, which we term *political action*.

Every ruling class in history has been compelled to protect its acts of appropriation by force, and has organised its particular form of State, or political power, to this end. The State in all ages has kept its supremacy by the use of arms which are as essential to the effective exercise of physical force in the pursuit of class interests as are the means of production in the sphere of industrial activity. Arms are, in fact, a specially developed means of appropriation, and it is interesting to notice that in the original form they were identical with means of production. In the hunting epoch and the earlier pastoral and agricultural stages bows and arrows, spears and even the primitive sword served the dual purpose of providing food and a means of attack or defence against human enemies.

The writer has observed that among certain African barbarians to-day a double-edged blade of some length is used for cutting down sugar. It is suspended by a belt from the waist ready for use as a weapon in case of need.

With the rise of class society the enslaved portion of mankind were deprived simultaneously of means of production and arms. Freeman owned the former and were alone allowed to carry the latter. The city States were bodies of armed citizens organised for the purposes of acquiring slaves and holding them in subjection when so acquired.

By contrast the feudal lords relied largely on the military services of their subordinates in the social scale to protect the territory in whose exploitation they were interested. The endeavour to extend their territory formed the chief cause of their political activities.

The supremacy of the capitalist class introduced a novel distribution of the task of defending property. Chattel-slave owners and feudal lords were actually military men; in their own interests they risked their own skins. Our modern masters, however, are great believers in the principle of sacrifice—of other people. Rather than appear brutally selfish they graciously let others fight for them. Just as the working class manipulate the means of production, so they wield the giant mechanical forces of modern States. The function of the capitalists is, of course, to direct—at a safe distance—by means of officials who are controlled by the power of the purse.

The function of the modern bureaucratic state is two-fold. Externally it exists to extend markets and protect trade routes for the com-

modities of its masters; internally it protects these commodities and the sources of their production against those who do not share their ownership.

Its origin affords an interesting study of capitalist methods. When the feudal aristocracy was on its last legs, its head, the monarchy, showed an increasing disposition to assume independence and absolute control. This, however, was a costly business and invariably landed the monarchs in the hands of the rising financiers, who were not slow to use their power for their own class. All attempts on the part of the aristocrats to regain control simply precipitated revolution. Not that the bourgeois fought; they have always been too fly for that. In the discontented relics of the peasantry and the newly forming and desperate wage-slave class they found material for insurrectionary armies led by glib spokesmen from the ranks of needy intellectuals. Feudal privileges once abolished and the object of the capitalists achieved, they did not hesitate to establish military dictatorships based on a professional army, which prevented on the one hand any real restoration of the old state of affairs, and on the other kept the workers at bay. Lacking any organisation or definite independent objective, the latter could in the end only succumb after the failure of mob action. Thus by duplicity and subterfuge the capitalist class bought and wormed their way into a constitution which reflected in its rival parties the competitive greedy interests of which this said class is composed.

With the advance of industrial evolution and the concentration of capital, the class issue overshadows the sectional conflicts of the masters. Ever and anon, as in the case of large strikes, masses of workers present a menace to some part of the social capital, and to guard against their introducing a new mode of appropriation of their own armed forces of society are continually called in. This increasing danger to the stability of the capitalist regime leads the masters to seek every means of deadening the class-consciousness of the workers.

In the section on ideas we dealt with two of the most potent of such, i.e., religion and morality, but in order to blur the sharp, suggestive line of political demarcation between the classes the rival parties of the ruling class have each in turn assisted in "enfranchising" the workers and giving them a nominal interest in the acts of the State.

Every sectional issue is now disguised as a popular question, and each party proclaims equally vociferously that it and it alone is the friend of the people. This serves to confuse the workers' minds and hinders them from developing an independent political organisation capable of wresting the control of the armed forces from the parties of the ruling class. It also enables the capitalists to use these forces in the name of the people, and every sectional uprising of the workers is thus crushed by the workers themselves through the support which, as a whole, they give to the State. Thus the workers remain in the grip of the present mode of appropriation. Every attempt on their part to appropriate directly the fruits of their labour is met by a superior force behind the owners who are quite incapable of defending their property themselves. Yet this force is none other than a creature of their own making. The actual mechanical weapons are their own products and the men who wield them are drawn from their own class. Obviously, then, there is but one thing essential to their control thereof, i.e., conscious class organisation; a unity based on the mutual recognition of common interests; in short, a Socialist party. With such a party embracing the mass of the workers, no tricks on the part of the capitalist parties could preserve their supremacy, political or economic.

On the one hand such a revolutionary body will be prepared to manipulate the armed forces against any attempt of the masters to purchase support amongst traitors to the working class; on the other it will automatically destroy the only guarantee of capitalist property, and along with the common ownership of the instruments of production will follow the *direct social appropriation* of the products of social labour and an organised system of distribution according to social requirements.

Thus the antagonism between the acts of

production and appropriation will come to an end. They will in fact become identical, for as fast as society produces it will simultaneously appropriate, and since all will be included alike in production and appropriation, there will cease to be any necessity for a special guarantee of property in the shape of an armed force. The State, which is simply the organ of class rule, will atrophy with the disappearance of classes. Its place will be taken by the organisation of society for using the resources of man and nature for the common-weal.

With the abolition of all forms of economic dependence and servitude as between classes or individuals, the contract of extra-economic powers will likewise vanish. Marriage and the family as legal relations will give place to free association based on affection, which will give the death-blow also to prostitution. Freed from the degrading influence of economic coercion, the scientific and artistic capacities of the race will find regeneration in the possibilities of social usefulness and pleasure. In short, all forms of human action will burst the bonds of class convention when they cease to be exploited by capital. Secure in the control of the basis of its existence, humanity as a whole will expand and develop to its utmost natural limit.

Such is the Socialist view of the coming revolution and its effects, but we have still left untouched illusions concerning political action which bear on the task before the workers. The individual who has not grasped the scientific explanation of events is ever a prey to dangerous confusion; and many members of the working class, although they have abandoned hope in the orthodox parties of the ruling class, yet wander in a mirage-haunted wilderness politically speaking. Their notions may be classed respectively as constitutional and anarchistic, albeit in practice they often become very much mixed, which is the natural result of an illusion common to both points of view. They both ignore the fact that the essential factor in political action is consciously directed physical force.

The constitutionalists we may describe as all those who proclaim representation (independently of the opinions and organisation of those represented), to be the means of working-class salvation. They are doomed at the outset to become the tools or supporters of the orthodox parties; for their programmes, which generally consist of technical alterations in the capitalist administration more likely to harm than to assist the working class, can only be put into practice by the capitalist administration itself; in fact, they only become practicable when the said government is ready to adopt them. All that the orthodox parties need to do, then, in order to secure the support of workers with these reformist ideas, is to take over their programme by instalments, an occupation naively described as reaching "Socialism" step by step. Lacking both the will and the power to carry through a revolution, constitutional reformers leave the armed forces in control of the capitalists and thus betray the workers' interests.

The utter inefficiency of this policy gives rise to the opposite illusion that any dealing with things political is both useless and treacherous. We are advised to take "direct action" but what *with* we are left to guess. Working class experience, however, does not encourage us to "take and hold" either the means of production or the finished products with our bare hands. The despised State, on the contrary, is maintained by the masters to prevent that. Unarmed physical force is worse than useless. The arms of society are in the control of the most highly organised class; therefore counter class-organisation is essential to supremacy, and such organisation must express itself through the agency of a central representative body.

"But the vote," we are told, "is only a piece of paper." So is a bank-note or a police summons. Does any anarchist regard these as ineffective? Were there no gold in the bank or no police force truly they would be; and so is every vote which does not represent a determined revolutionist prepared to act with his class when the occasion arises. For a revolutionary party to abstain from voting itself into power if possible, however, would be the height of lunacy. It would be equivalent to the stupid

constitutional policy which leaves the capitalists to control the forces of the State.

As for the so-called "economic action" or the general strike, it is simply not action at all; it is industrial inaction and as such is social suicide, passive resistance, anything but positive power.

To rally the workers for the final political act of history is the task of the Socialist Party. We work for the day when all flags will be struck but the Red Flag, and all national States give way to the International Republic. E. B.

DIGESTED MORSELS.

Having read so often during recent times of the great wave of working-class prosperity which has swept over this land of free and enlightened (?) people, accompanied by the acquisition by them of pianos and various other items of a grossly "extravagant nature," I am somewhat at a loss to understand how the following tit-bit succeeded in finding a place in our masters' journal.

The Glasgow School Board yesterday decided to send to the War Secretary, the Scottish Secretary, the Education Department, and to Members of Parliament, a statement showing that there had been a large increase in the number of scholars requiring attention owing to the lack of adequate clothing, due entirely to the condition of the dependents of soldiers and sailors, whose allowances had not been increased to meet the increased cost of living. The Board asked that allowances should be increased, and that this should be a charge upon the Imperial Exchequer, and not upon the School Board rate.

—Daily News, 10.11.16.

While day by day we read and know of cases of hardship to dependents arising from the inadequacy of separation allowances, the shipping and cotton lords and other people of that ilk are amassing fabulous sums. At the same time we hear much talk about the "equality of sacrifice," which, being interpreted, means greater sacrifice of the workers—sacrifice of hard-won Trade Union rights, sacrifice of health in an endeavour to increase production, and sacrifice of even life itself in a cause which, at its termination, will leave the remainder of the working class in a position of intensified poverty and still subject to the callous indifference of an international ruling class. Here follows an announcement which I recently observed, and serves to show the "sacrifice" made by the wealthy class:

Gentleman's only daughter, aged 19, desires to live with London family or lady of high social position having large circle of young friends, make up parties for theatres, dances, golf, riding, etc.; up to £500 per annum paid; highest references given and required.—Daily Sketch, 28.9.1916.

The above was quoted in an article in the paper mentioned under the heading of "The Insolence of Wealth," and with such a theme the writer was able to expatiate at great length on the disparity of the affluent and the rewards of a grateful country to its wounded heroes.

From the early days of the war onwards we have from time to time case after case of supposed Virgins and Crucifixes left intact after nearly everything else had been blown to smithereens. Pictures in pictorial papers have appeared to show the alleged remarkable occurrences and suitable wording has been dished up to suggest the miraculous intervention on behalf of the religious emblems. But in due course arrives further information as to how these effects are manipulated in order to deceive the credulous and unsuspecting. Let me quote:

There seems to be a good deal of misapprehension going about in connection with some of the stories of images of the Virgin and Crucifixes left intact in French towns when all else was wrecked by shell fire. I have seen a letter from a gentleman of undoubted authority, who says that some even of the pictures of these things are pure romances. He cites in especial a representation of the Virgin of Montauban standing erect on a pile of ruins with a large shell in front of her. The statue was knocked down, but only slightly damaged; my informant apparently saw it raised to its present position by British soldiers. The shell in the picture is probably British. One would have thought that there was romance enough in a world war without invoking imagination's artful aid to heighten it.

—Daily News, 27.10.1916.

S. T.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—All communications to A. Jones, 3 Mathew St., Latchmere St., Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 8 p.m. 1st & 3rd Mondays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—C. D. Waller, Sec., 2 Tower-gardens, Wood Green. Branch meets every Saturday, 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 295 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., c/o 2 Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Communications to H. Keen, 65 Southam-st., N. Kensington, from whom can be ascertained meeting place of Branch.

MANCHESTER.—Mrs. McCarthy, Sec., 198 Horton-rd Moss Side, Manchester.

MARYLEBONE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 8, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at 193 Gray's Inn-rd., W.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Mon. at 8, at above address in basement.

TOTTINGHAM.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sundays at 10.30 a.m. at Elkhington, 34 Peckham Rye. Discussion after.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to J. Bird, 28 Christchurch-rd., Southeast-on-Sea. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sundays 10.30 a.m. at "Liberty," 6 Hermitage-rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—All communications to Secretary, at 10a, Farleigh-rd., where Branch meets every Monday, 8.15.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—Communications to the Sec., 224, High-rd., Tottenham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Secy., 107 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secy., 53 Maidstone Rd. New Southgate. From Jan. 10 Branch meet alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1st (4 to August 1907 are out of print.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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